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Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan 1580s–1680s



ELIZABETH LILLEHOJ





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BY

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Detail fig.58. *Portrait of Empress Tōfukumon'in*. 17th century. Wooden sculpture with gofun, ink, colors, and gold. H. 45 cm. Kōunji, Kyoto.

To my husband,
Joe Esposito

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Preface

This volume, encapsulating the author's research over the past twenty years, takes as its subject the courtly arts and politics of the capital city Kyoto at the dawn of Japan's early modern era. The extended period under consideration—a century bridging the Momoyama period (1568–1615) and the early decades of the Edo period (1615–1868)—stood witness to a revolution in the visual culture of a country enjoying gradual restoration of political stability after prolonged civil war. During this transitional era the production and exchange of art was integral to the interaction of the imperial court and warlords. Imperial and warrior elites sponsored artists working in every medium as a means of enhancing their political and social prestige. During this age of uncertainty, figurehead monarchs reigned at court and were still revered by those who were aware of their existence, but in the new order taking shape powerful military lords exercised autocratic rule. Yet despite their wealth and their armies, the heads of the Toyotomi clan and then the Tokugawa shoguns still relied on the emperor to validate their right to rule by invoking the age-old symbolic power of the throne.

Although many members of early modern imperial households engaged with art as sponsors, recipients, viewers, or even creators, three individuals of royal status will be the focus of this book: Emperor Go-Yōzei, his son Emperor Go-Mizunoo, and the latter's wife, Tōfukumon'in (1607–1678) (see Appendix 1 for a list of emperors and reigning empresses mentioned in this volume and their life and reign dates). Each benefited culturally and politically from active participation in the arts and consequently exerted a profound influence on artistic development of the age. The ways in which each promoted cultural affairs, however, varied according to their respective circumstances and temperaments. The story related here begins in the 1580s, when Kyoto and surrounding provinces were beginning to rebuild themselves after decades of civil war; the story closes in the 1680s, by which time Edo, seat of the new Tokugawa military government, was firmly established as both a political and cultural epicenter. From a more biographically centered perspective, the landmark dates bracketing this volume are the assassination of warlord Oda Nobunaga in 1582, and the death of retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo in 1680.

Kano Takanobu, *Shrine Guardian Dog*, detail of fig. 32.

In the mutually dependent relationship between imperial and warrior elites, monarchs counted on economic support from warlords, and in return warlords expected royal sanction. The story of this political dynamic is inseparable from the history of Japanese art. Indeed, artworks sponsored by and exchanged between emperor and warlord were freighted with implications of status and reinforced hallowed traditions of the imperium. How monarchs used art to sustain their inherited role in the face of the unmitigated might of warrior hegemony has not been fully explored in scholarship to date. During the century examined here, heads of imperial and warrior families commissioned paintings, calligraphy, and sculpture; they sponsored architecture and gardens; and they acquired ceramics, lacquerware, and textiles. This volume interrogates the process of how imperial and warrior leaders employed art to position themselves to advantage within ever-shifting power relationships.

Members of the imperial family were enjoying a renewed level of prosperity during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. They were cognizant that artistic activity was an effective way to assert dominance within both the court and religious institutions. The court was by no means a monolithic entity, and those with noble blood did not always work for common goals. Court society was complex and hierarchical, and conflicts of interest pitted nobles against one another and against the monarch. The court, stratified into nine official ranks and three

categories, comprised over a hundred aristocratic families, all vying for rank and prestige. The competitive situation at court was exacerbated by some aristocrats' expectations of profiting from political upheaval of the era. For their part, the emperors were determined to decrease courtier conflict and to establish imperial dominance, at least among the nobility. Their success was sporadic at best.

The cohort of warriors followed a less tradition-bound protocol and was subject to less rigid hierarchies than the court, and its leaders focused largely on ongoing struggles for military, economic, and political supremacy within their own ranks. Although the conceptual framework of this book assumes a distinction between the nobility and warrior elites, class boundaries were in fact fluid, and many warrior families had roots in nobility, while members of the warrior elite, even if of humble origins, often attained court rank.

Rule by military overlords first began in the late twelfth century, when Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199) established Japan's first military government and in 1192 received the court rank of *sei-i taishōgun* (barbarian-subduing great general; abbreviated as *shōgun*, or shogun in English). Central authority, however, dissolved in the fifteenth century into a free-for-all of contending warlords. From this "Age of the Country at War" (*Sengoku jidai*, ca. 1467–1568) there emerged, from peasant origins, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), who ruled Japan beginning in 1582 and during the first part of Go-Yōzei's reign. A generous patron of the emperor, Hideyoshi used various strategies, including manipulation of the court and patronage of courtly arts, to demonstrate his authority and suppress other claimants to power. Early in the seventeenth century Toyotomi dominance was usurped by the Tokugawa clan, led by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). Although some of the military powerbrokers must have questioned whether it was even necessary to preserve the imperial household, Ieyasu demonstrated his high regard for the legitimizing power of the emperor by petitioning Go-Yōzei to name him shogun. Carefully monitoring court activities, Ieyasu ordered the emperor to fulfill his obligations at court but refrain from politics.

This study examines the artistic engagement of the emperors and warrior lords and considers not only the making of art, but also patronage, acquisition, gift giving, and exchange. Each of these practices reveals the court and military leaders' intention to dominate the cultural field. Members of the imperial and warrior elite possessed a variety of aesthetically charged objects: old and new, native and foreign, decorative and functional. They collected valuable calligraphy, paintings, and books, along with writing implements and other finely crafted objects associated with scholarly pursuits, paraphernalia for the incense game, and the entire gamut of finely crafted objects. Some of the works they acquired related to literature and literary traditions, others to the performing arts of music and theater, and yet others to tea practice and floral arrangement. That said, the approach that men and women from elite families took to acquisition of objects varied greatly. Not all aesthetic objects conferred the same sort of cultural cachet; elegant costumes, for example, were prized in their own right, but did not carry the same cultural signification that a painting or a tea bowl might carry.

Some paintings, including some large-scale works on screens (*byōbu-e*) and sliding doors and panels (*fusuma-e*), served as markers of authentic nobility. Courtier and warrior commissions of large-scale paintings—notably screen paintings of historical events and panel paintings installed at the imperial palace, most of which have been little explored in scholarship and which this study treats in depth—were usually awarded to leading artists, entailed extensive preparation, and required assistance from apprentices and students of the master painter to complete. Unfortunately, only a small fraction of panel paintings created in such contexts survive; yet the ones that do are given special attention in this study in consideration of the light they shed on the emperor-warlord relationship and more broadly on art-historical studies. The programs of panel painting at the imperial palace will be considered here in terms of thematic choice and stylistic formulas.

Structure of this Book

Each chapter in this book presents one aspect in the emperor-warlord interaction that occurred at the beginning of the early modern era, examining the changing relationship between these two foci of Japanese society and highlighting their uses of visual art in that dynamic. The works analyzed—some made for emperors and empresses, some for warlords and their wives, others for unknown audiences-—illustrate the complex interdependency of court and warrior elites. We begin with the last three decades of Go-Yōzei's reign and end with the demise of Go-Mizunoo in 1680, but the chapters are not arranged in strict chronological sequence. Instead, the chapters alternate between emphases on the court and the warriors in presenting the relationship as it evolved through time.

Chapter 1 explores the interaction between Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Emperor Go-Yōzei through the final decades of the sixteenth century. Hideyoshi provided Go-Yōzei with generous gifts and financial backing, including support for the construction of a new palace. In turn the warlord benefited from imperial sanction, though he refused to be constrained by the court's cumbersome protocol and strict hierarchy. The focus here is on Hideyoshi, who turned to the court for political legitimation by means of cultural and religious recognition.

Chapter 2 moves to the imperial side of the emperor-warlord balance in the early years of the seventeenth century, when Go-Yōzei defended his hereditary position and enhanced the symbolic status of the imperial institution. He embraced a traditional notion of the monarch's authority, what is identified here as "an imperial ideology of old," that depended on the emperor's sponsorship and participation in projects meant to promote the court. Determined to resist the persistent intrusions of warrior lords and the rambunctious spirit of popular culture, Go-Yōzei devoted his energies to establishing control within the palace and preserving esteem for the court, and he astutely charted a diplomatic course taking into account the perceived resistance to his authority expressed by various contingents.

Chapter 3 examines Tokugawa Ieyasu's beneficence toward Go-Yōzei's son and heir, Go-Mizunoo. Once again examining artistic developments from the perspective of warrior overlords, we see a triumphant Ieyasu cultivating his alliance with the court in myriad ways, including sponsorship of an impressive new imperial palace for Go-Mizunoo. Within the palace were expanses of newly painted sliding-door panels, which are important as some of the oldest extant fragments of large-scale palace painting.

In Chapter 4, we return to the court to consider the perspective of Go-Mizunoo in his early years on the throne. Following in the footsteps of his father, Go-Mizunoo consolidated the imperial ideology. He revived aspects of the annual ritual cycle and encouraged literary and visual pursuits of the court to accomplish his goal of upholding his father's legacy. He communicated a belief that leadership in the courtly arts was an imperial duty essential to preserving harmony. As a patron of literature, scholarship, and painting, Go-Mizunoo spearheaded a cultural movement that reached far beyond the palace.

Chapter 5 focuses on efforts of the Tokugawa shogun to influence the court after the death of Go-Yōzei, when the shogun forced Go-Mizunoo to marry the young granddaughter of Ieyasu, Empress Tōfukumon'in. Wealthy and powerful, the Tokugawa were able to underwrite major events displaying their affiliation with the imperial family, such as the marriage procession of Tōfukumon'in and the imperial visit to Nijō Castle discussed in Chapter 6. The shogun ensured that the public dimensions of these events were replete with pomp and ceremony, seeing them as opportunities to impress upon the populace that the Tokugawa were masters of the realm. The Tokugawa had much success, therefore, in appropriating imperial prestige to enhance the cultural and social status of their own clan in the early seventeenth century. In the decades that followed, the Tokugawa daughter-turned-empress, Tōfukumon'in, grew into an active sponsor of artistic forms, from textiles to religious icons.

As a married couple, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in emerged as celebrities of Kyoto culture and

ensured preservation of the courtly traditions discussed in Chapter 7. Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in collected finely made objects and they commissioned paintings in various formats from artists of the Kano, Tosa, and other leading workshops. Not only did Go-Mizunoo dedicate himself to reviving imperial rites and courtly arts, but he also took part in new currents arising from the urban setting of Kyoto. In his engagement with both revivalist and contemporary cultural currents, Go-Mizunoo expressed the political interests of the imperial family. At times Go-Mizunoo even protested Tokugawa encroachment of imperial prerogatives.

The concluding chapters provide an overview of the emperor-warlord relationship as it evolved through the remainder of Go-Mizunoo's life, when imperial leaders created a legacy of imperial arts that would survive through the early modern era. In summary, this volume examines art as an aspect of the emperor-warlord political dynamic. The theme of patronage, while of importance, is not our primary concern. More attention is given to what the artworks can tell us about imperial and warrior attempts to enhance their respective positions. This study therefore also addresses issues of the ownership and exchange of artistic objects. The works of art examined here testify to the determination on the part of the leading court and warrior families to establish social and cultural dominance in an era marked by a sea change in political and social structures.

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E. L.

Notes to the Reader

In translating court titles granted to members of the imperial family, I use the terms "emperor" and "monarch" to refer to the individual commonly recognized as highest in rank amongst the aristocrats. Other historians argue that the term "emperor" is misleading because Japan was not an empire in the Momoyama or Edo periods and the individual sitting on the imperial throne did not rule as a sovereign monarch. Some scholars prefer to use the term "heavenly sovereign" (*tennō*), although this choice of terminology has also been debated (see Piggott, "Chieftain Pairs and Corulers," p. 45). "*Tennō*" was used in the seventh and eighth centuries to refer to the head of the lineage that ruled Japan, and chronicles produced on governmental order in the Nara period (710–794) characterize the *tennō* as a descendant of the gods, understood to have a divine right to rule. The term *tennō* was abandoned in 887, however, only to be restored in the 1840s. The court did not follow a strict system of primogeniture, and an individual's rank—even that of the emperor—was, in effect, an appointment.

With regard to other terms used for members of the imperial family, I translate *naishinnō* as princess, *shinnō* as prince, and *hōshinnō* as tonsured prince. Princes and princesses are commonly given a name with the suffix *miya*, and the crown prince—designated heir to the throne, but not necessarily first born—was called *harunomiya* (see Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*, p. 444). I use the term "empress" for the main wife of a reigning emperor and the terms "reigning empress" and "female monarch" in speaking of a woman (or girl) on the throne. Furthermore, I refer to the imperial accession as a coronation, even though the emperor did not wear a crown, and I speak of the emperor ascending the throne, even though there was no throne, per se. The emperor sat on a three-tiered platform, or dais, during ceremonies held in the Hall of State at the palace.

To avoid confusion, I refer to the three main imperial figures treated in this study by the names Go-Yōzei, Go-Mizunoo, and Tōfukumon'in, although these are not names they would have used in referring to themselves, or by which they were known during their years on the throne. The names were bestowed upon them in later years, following centuries-old custom; during their lifetimes, the three were known by other names. For example, the name given to Go-Mizunoo at birth was Tadahito; later it was changed to Kazuhito, and later still to Kotohito. His posthumous title was Go-Mizunoo. While enthroned, emperors were commonly referred to by metonyms. In aristocratic diaries and certain other texts, the emperor is often called "master of the *dairi*" (*dairi-sama*), and after abdicating, he is called "master of Sentō Gosho" (i.e., the palace of the retired emperor; *sentō-sama*). At the time of her marriage to Go-Mizunoo, Tōfukumon'in was known by the name Masako. Not until Go-Mizunoo retired from the throne was she referred to as Tōfukumon'in; even then, however, she was more commonly referred to as "mistress of the Nyoin" (i.e., the palace of the retired empress; *nyoin-sama*) or even more often as "mother of the country" (*kokumo*), indicating that she was the mother of the current monarch.

The artists' family name "Kano" can also be transliterated as "Kanō." I use the former to reflect the pronunciation given in seventeenth-century texts, including the *Honchō gashi* compiled by Kano Einō as an official history of the Kano house, with a preface dated 1678. In the *Honchō gashi*, some names use the possessive pronoun "no." Modern Japanese sources tend to use "Kanō," and therefore I use this transliteration for Japanese language citations to follow usage in standard modern Japanese bibliographic records, such as NACSIS Webcat.

Modern Japanese names are given in the traditional order with surname first and given name second, except for names of authors writing in English.

For historical figures, I use the personal name only. Note that names are transliterated variously in English publications; for example, Emperor Go-Yōzei is also rendered as Emperor Goyōzei and Emperor Go-Mizunoo is also rendered as Emperor Go-Mizuno'o (or Emperor Gomizunoo). In addition, the original pronunciation of names is often not clear, and so Go-Mizunoo is often transliterated as Go-Minoo, and Tōfukumon'in Masako is often transliterated as Tōfukumon'in Kazuko. The names of texts are rendered in their original language followed in their first appearance by English, Japanese (J:), Chinese *pinyin* (C:), and Sanskrit (S:), where appropriate. The names of art works are rendered in English followed in the first appearance by Japanese, where appropriate. Terms used widely in English are given without diacritical marks.

Individuals' ages are given in Japanese historical fashion, counting the first year after birth as one year of age, and so forth. To designate dates, I use the Western system with years given in numerals, rather than with an era name (*gengō* or *nengō*). Months and days are presented according to the calendar used in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the lunar calendar.

Translations contained herein are those of the author, unless otherwise indicated.

Related to material covered in this book, I have published two short articles: "Flowers of the Capital: Imperial Sponsorship of Art in Seventeenth-Century Kyoto," *Orientations*, vol. 2, no. 8 (September 1996), pp. 57–69 and "Tōfukumon'in: Empress, Patron, and Artist," *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1996), pp. 28–34.



Introduction: State of the Field

Until recently, surveys of Japanese art history and cultural history have tended to describe the late Momoyama and early Edo periods as a phase in which Japan emerged from protracted civil strife and quickly settled into a peaceful though highly restrictive social order.[1] This simplistic description glides over the ambitions of competing factions and the complexities of institutional restructuring. The carnage of the recent past was indeed abating, but decades of political maneuvering passed before the new social and political order was fully established. In the light of new scholarship in both Japan and the West on the subject, this volume reinvestigates art works that illuminate court and warrior relations at the outset of the early modern era. In place of warrior domination of an antiquated, pathetic cohort in the palace, I maintain that court leaders retained significant cultural and symbolic cachet.[2]

Although a number of individuals contributed to court-warrior exchanges in the Momoyama and early Edo periods, I focus on just a few. From the court, I consider three leading figures who are particularly important here by virtue of their wide-ranging engagement with art: Emperor Go-Yōzei, his son Emperor Go-Mizunoo, and Go-Mizunoo's wife, Tōfukumon'in.[3] From the side of the ruling warlords, I consider Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) and shoguns of the Tokugawa clan: Ieyasu (1542–1616), his son Hidetada (1579–1632; r. 1605–1623), and Ieyasu's grandson Iemitsu (1604–1651; r. 1623–1651).[4] Military leaders of the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clans encouraged the Japanese populace to revere the imperial institution, and Go-Yōzei and Go-Mizunoo initiated numerous measures to enhance their inherited association with divine ancestors.

How an imperial household dispossessed of political power negotiated to enhance its prestige requires lengthy explanation, and an analysis of artworks can lead us to insights that complement and, in some cases, even exceed what can be gleaned from textual sources. This study draws not only upon historical but also upon art-historical scholarship.[5] It attempts to chart new ground by considering such questions as gender and politics in family dynamics within the palace and the castles. To accomplish this, my study cuts across disciplinary boundaries, especially political history, material culture, religious studies, and literary analysis.

The Emperor-Warlord Cultural Dynamic

Modern Japanese studies of early modern history, especially those of the recent past, have significantly enhanced our understanding of the close and conflicted interactions between monarchs and warlords in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[6] Scholarship in English on the court-warrior dynamic and related cultural forms of the Momoyama and early Edo periods has developed concurrently.[7]

Attributed to Kano Sanraku. *Peonies*, detail of fig. 50.

What has been clarified is that emperors of the early modern period, though having lost all power to rule, were still respected, even revered by the general public. For centuries when a monarch ascended the throne, he (or in rare cases, she) inherited a vaunted status, not only as nominal leader of the court but also as direct descendant of the gods, and thus was uniquely sanctioned to pray for divine blessings on the land.[8] Imperial prestige may be said to have increased during the century under consideration in this volume, propelled and buttressed by strong-willed and politically shrewd members of the imperial family.

Both the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa took advantage of the association of emperors with divinity by asking Go-Yōzei and his successor Go-Mizunoo, respectively, to posthumously grant divine status to Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Thus, what made the emperor irreplaceable was his ability to sanction, even sanctify, the warrior overlords. Imperial sanction contributed to the legacy of Hideyoshi, and later it helped the Tokugawa regime to survive for more than two and a half centuries. Ieyasu's character had been shaped by the give-no-quarter mayhem of the country at war, but Hidetada and Iemitsu operated within an environment in which bureaucratic expertise increasingly overshadowed battlefield experience. Although each of these first three shoguns faced challenges to their rule, one element remained constant: their need for the reigning emperor to confirm their titles of shogun and thereby their legitimacy as rulers.

Publications since the early 1950s have made substantial contributions to our knowledge of the early modern imperial family and its involvement with arts and culture. Particularly influential are publications by Hayashiya Tatsusaburō and his circle of cultural historians.[9] They developed a conceptual framework known as "Kan'ei cultural theory" (*Kan'ei bunkaron*), which is somewhat misleading but which persists in much current scholarship. Many studies of the Kan'ei cultural phase (*Kan'ei bunka*) look at developments—seen by many scholars as important and unique—that extended one or two decades before and after the Kan'ei era (1624–1644), thus occurring during the first six decades of the seventeenth century. Hayashiya's circle introduced phrases such as "classical revival" (*koten fukkō*) and "rebirth of dynastic traditions" (*ōchō dentō no fukkatsu*) to characterize the alliance of courtiers and commoners as one that looked back to courtly traditions of the Heian period. Furthermore, they defined the Kan'ei classical revival as site-specific; that is, occurring in Kyoto.

Kan'ei cultural theory has been tremendously influential, but has given rise to misconceptions. Many cultural historians continue to describe the first part of the seventeenth century as an era of classicism or as a renaissance of courtly taste. They see this taste reflected in a range of visual, literary, and performing arts that tended to borrow from a select repertory of traditional themes and approaches. They claim that artists drew their precedent from the Heian period, when court culture reached its zenith and aristocratic clans exercised paramount authority in the land. More specifically, they identify these classical traditions as delicate and refined, in direct contrast to the more assertive and worldly aesthetic favored in post-Heian elite culture, which emerged under military lords and prevailed from the Kamakura period (1185–1333) onward.

Not only has this paradigm of Heian classicism led to mistaken conclusions, but so has the paradigm of a seventeenth-century classical revival.[10] Courtly art never died away; it continued to flourish, serving specific purposes. Warrior lords did not always prefer bold and conspicuous expressive effects. They often sponsored elegant artistic forms with courtly precedents.[11] Yet the notion of a Kan'ei classical revival still holds sway among Japanese cultural historians and art historians.[12] Kumakura Isao, taking up the mantle of Hayashiya, has published extensively in this vein.[13] In his scholarship Kumakura considers such central Kan'ei cultural developments as tea service (*chanoyu*) and cultural gatherings (*kai*) at court salons, including the salon of Emperor Go-Mizunoo.

More recently, several cultural historians specializing in the early Edo period have questioned the conclusions of Hayashiya and Kumakura, especially

the assertion that alliances of courtiers and commoners played a crucial role in seventeenth-century culture; they counter by declaring that it was warrior lords who overwhelmingly led cultural developments.[14] Their scholarship represents the prevailing attitude held by postwar specialists in early modern political and intellectual history, which claims that the warrior aristocracy completely overshadowed the court in the seventeenth century and thus rejects the Kan'ei cultural theory of Hayashiya. This critique is not always persuasive, however.

One detractor from Kan'ei cultural theory, Tanaka Yūko, contends that by the seventeenth century elite individuals were no longer active as leading patrons of the arts.[15] Defining patronage narrowly as an alliance between a powerful sponsor and a dependent artist obliged to provide artistic products, Tanaka concludes that patronage had disappeared by the early modern era and that, instead, sponsors and artists had come to participate in collaborative creative processes, which she refers to as networks. This argument ignores a key point: although broad networks did become highly influential in the development of certain Edo-period visual arts, that was not so much the case until the end of the seventeenth century. By this time, patterns of acquisition of some types of visual art had begun to change. In other words, it was mainly in the mid-Edo period that collaborative sponsor-artist networks blossomed and fueled the acquisition of certain forms of visual art. Concurrently, market forces began driving consumer interest in acquiring art. From this time forward, there was a smaller percentage of cases in which a few leading sponsors commissioned work from a few elite ateliers of artists.[16]

While critics of Kan'ei cultural theory were absorbing the dominant conceptual model of postwar historians, several scholars broke from the pack and began to reassess the social and political significance of the court during the early modern era. Though rarely focusing on the visual arts, these dissenters introduce ideas and information relevant to the imperial family and its engagement with art. Historian Wakita Haruko posits that political disorder from the late fifteenth century on allowed the court to establish a broader and stronger base of influence and that emperors, in part by relying upon a centuries-old ideology of imperial rule grounded in traditional religious and cultural practice, expressed their authority in unique ways.[17] This and related research offer new opportunities for us to explore the arts of the early modern era.

Also misleading is a mid- to late twentieth-century discussion of the imperial system that asserts that emperors who reigned after the Heian period were not significant and not revered.[18] Following World War II, some Japanese historians de-emphasized the role of emperors, whose continuous premodern presence was a sensitive topic in the immediate postwar era. Yet recent studies of Japanese culture reveal that emperors and courtiers remained significant long after the Heian period and that imperial sponsorship was central to the evolution of various cultural forms into the Edo period.[19] In addition, recent art-historical studies have explored social ties formed through artistic practice among courtiers, warriors, and townspeople at the outset of the early modern era.[20] The recent scholarship forms a background view to this study: it indicates that the court contributed substantially to cultural developments at the beginning of the early modern period.

Germane to my analysis is the research of historian Lee Butler, especially his *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467–1680: Resilience and Renewal* (2002). Butler demonstrates that the court was politically viable in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when imperial authority increased as the influence of formerly powerful competitors decreased.[21] Butler provides a nuanced reading of complex courtly interactions, which adhered to norms of tradition and hierarchy. Like him, I highlight the role of early modern court leaders as cultural exponents and arbiters of taste; additionally, I explore in depth the use of specific artworks by imperial and warrior leaders to gain advantage in the cultural sphere.

In sum, recent scholarly work in Japan, the United States, and Europe suggests that Hayashiya and Kumakura were correct in placing court leaders at the heart of a unique circle of cultural figures at the

outset of the early modern era, and also in asserting that the imperial family engaged with art as a form of political expression. I develop the analyses of Hayashiya and Kumakura by showing, among other things, how leading members of the nobility encouraged revivalist currents in art to boost imperial prestige, at times apparently with the intention of protesting encroachments by military overlords. All the while, however, imperial leaders maintained their remove from society at large and thus preserved their charismatic exclusivity.

ART AND THE EMPEROR-WARLORD DYNAMIC

A number of recent exhibitions and publications have contributed to our knowledge of Momoyama and early Edo-period artistic patronage. Some of these have considered significant warrior patrons.[22] Others testify to sponsorship of art by members of the court, including numerous publications released and exhibitions staged in Japan.[23] Exhibitions of courtly art ranging through the periods of Japanese history have also been held in the United States and Europe.[24] Notwithstanding their longer time frame, these exhibits reveal that the first century of the early modern era witnessed remarkable developments in courtly culture.

Essays in the exhibition catalogues and compilations have enhanced our understanding of imperial and warrior sponsorship of art, but for the most part, they rarely discuss the social and political roles of the sponsors. One of the few exceptions is the introduction to the catalogue accompanying the 1989 exhibition *Word in Flower: The Visualization of Classical Literature in Seventeenth-Century Japan*, which artfully lays out many important themes but minimizes the court's political influence with the comment that: "By the opening years of the seventeenth century, a remarkable alliance of disenfranchised imperial aristocracy and wealthy but powerless commoners had formed."[25] I take issue with that interpretation, not only because nobles were not fully disenfranchised and commoners were not totally powerless, but also because the social groups are not so easily divided. I also disagree with a frequent assertion that by the early Edo period aristocratic cultural forms were no longer exclusively preserved by courtiers; in fact, the courtiers continued to carefully guard their legacies.[26]

Recent exhibitions in Japan at times present early modern courtly arts as emblems of national continuity, encouraging an aestheticized view of Japanese history and of a unique Japanese culture with elite traditions that have transcended the vagaries of time. Beyond celebrating courtly art and imperial patrimony, these exhibits promote ideological programs. For example, a prominent exhibition held at the Tokyo National Museum in 1999 celebrated the tenth-year anniversary of the accession of Emperor Akihito.[27] Soon after becoming emperor, Akihito announced that over six thousand objects from the Imperial Household Collection would be transferred to public ownership. Ostensibly the 1999 exhibition honored the transfer of these objects to the public trust, but it also conveyed wishes for the continued well-being of the emperor and for the prosperity of the nation.[28]

When we situate the Momoyama- and Edo-period artworks in their original time and place, we gain new insights into why particular styles and themes were selected. I consider the works as artifacts embedded in specific institutional structures at a pivotal moment, thus requiring a rethinking of the nature of a significant group of artworks created in the early modern era. As in other periods and places, owning works of art was a mark of status in early modern Japan. In the words of Pierre Bourdieu, "To appropriate a work of art is to assert oneself as the exclusive possessor of the object and the authentic taste for that object …".[29] Thus, I argue against a purely semiotic interpretation. Semiotic theorists look skeptically on attempts to recover a historical context for artistic objects, contending that the larger context is infinite in possibility and inextricable from the context of the interpreter.[30]

While documentation does not always exist to prove active participation by imperial and warrior leaders in sponsoring or selecting a particular work

of art, there have been a number of studies of art works dating from the medieval and early modern periods that demonstrate elite patronage practice.[31] That said, much of the art associated with members of the prominent aristocratic and military families was not commissioned by them—and according to what we can document about that art, it was not necessarily appreciated by or even known to them. Yet records confirm that some members of both elites engaged artists to produce paintings and other fine objects. For this and other reasons, I consider it essential to define artistic engagement broadly.

RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF GENDERED ARISTOCRATIC ROLES

Primary textual sources particularly important to this study comprise: chronicles written for warlords, commentaries and journals kept at the court, diaries recorded by aristocratic and religious figures, and texts composed by artists.[32] Artworks may also document the competing interests of leading elite groups in the late Momoyama and early Edo periods, even though visual illustrations are not accurate mirrors of historical events. Images may attempt to glorify or beautify, to educate or entertain, or possibly all of the above, and they are always fictive, at least in part. Of course, the same caveat applies to textual sources.

Each of the main types of written texts that I rely upon offers insights into elite participation in the arts—insights always subject to the biases of the respective texts. Documents such as the *Tokugawa jikki* (True Tokugawa Records), compiled in the early nineteenth century supposedly as factual and official records of the shogunate, comment on all sorts of things related to the imperial court in the seventeenth century, but the information is not necessarily reliable or impartial.[33] Diaries of aristocrats, also crucial textual sources here, emphasize the role of court leaders, but they tend to focus on mundane matters unrelated to art. Similarly, temple records kept by cloistered members of the imperial family are highly personal and often ignore major historical events of the day. Texts by artists, including several seventeenth-century manuals on workshop methods, artistic biographies, and treatises on painting theory, tell us about artistic practice and art created for elite parties, but all of these may be biased in the way they present information.

One advantage of studying visual materials is that they reveal much about individuals who are rarely mentioned in textual sources. For example, late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century women, even women from elite families, are largely ignored in official histories, in part because they mostly left little trace of their activities or their thoughts in documentary writing, making it difficult to reconstruct their lives. But a wealth of nontextual artifacts survives to tell us about women from the prominent court and warrior families of the early modern era. *Pace* the apparent reluctance among Japanese historians to make use of nondocumentary materials, these are some of the most illuminating sources on women's history.[34] Discouraged from exercising authority outside their home and from developing a public voice, women from prominent families often enjoyed opportunities to own and sponsor art. That was particularly true of Empress Tōfukumon'in, daughter of the shogun Hidetada and wife of Emperor Go-Mizunoo.[35] Tōfukumon'in can be called the most prominent female sponsor of art probably for centuries and certainly in seventeenth-century Japan.

Tōfukumon'in may have been exceptional, but she was not the only female sponsor of art at court; a number of imperial princesses—including several who resided as nuns at Buddhist institutions affiliated with the imperial family (*monzeki*)—were active in the arts.[36] Despite the significant contributions made by Tōfukumon'in, Japanese art historians tended to treat her as a peripheral figure until recently, when several scholars made preliminary attempts to rectify Tōfukumon'in's omission from historical narratives.[37] Scholars now acknowledge that the empress supported a host of artistic developments. To date, however, there has been no detailed analysis of Tōfukumon'in's role as a leading sponsor of the arts, an omission this study intends to redress.



I

Hideyoshi Restores Glory to the Palace

In 1580, as the chaos of the Age of the Country at War was subsiding, Toyotomi Hideyoshi was solidifying his position as one of Japan's leading military lords, as he progressively eliminated other warrior contenders. This chapter focuses on Hideyoshi's dealings with the court in the final two decades of his life, along with his bid to restore imperial prestige after years of aristocratic decline. It considers Hideyoshi's grand entertainment of Emperor Go-Yōzei at the warlord's Kyoto residence and his other acts of sponsorship in the old imperial capital, which became a showcase for his construction projects and a stage for his displays of pageantry. Hideyoshi amassed great wealth from confiscated properties of defeated enemies, revenues from his land holdings and other sources, and he invested much of this wealth in the revitalization of Kyoto, which had been devastated by the century-long age of wars. He commanded the construction of new roads, bridges, and a city wall, and he sponsored the rebuilding of temples, shrines, and mansions, including a new palace for the emperor. In return, Hideyoshi requested and received from the imperial court both high status and legitimation; the emperor even granted him posthumous deification. Though Go-Yōzei had little say in military or legal decisions, as ruling monarch he was uniquely invested with the authority to declare a mortal man a god. Both men recognized and sometimes reluctantly acted on their interdependency.

Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei, detail of fig. 2.

In 1580 Hideyoshi was still subordinate to Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), then the leading warlord in the land, but when Nobunaga died in a coup led by a ranking retainer, Hideyoshi quickly eliminated the traitor and his forces and continued to unify the land under his own control. Emperor Ōgimachi, who had risen to the throne in 1557, was grooming his eldest son, Sanehito, to succeed him, and he was overseeing the education of his grandson Prince Katahito (later Emperor Go-Yōzei). Hideyoshi began moving rapidly up the court hierarchy, and in 1585, after considerable politicking among the courtiers, the emperor appointed him to the high post of imperial chancellor (*kanpaku*). As *kanpaku*, Hideyoshi was nominally responsible for overseeing much of the court's administrative activity, which allowed him to manipulate his relations with the emperor to achieve his own goals as supreme warlord.

In 1586, Crown Prince Sanehito died unexpectedly, and shortly thereafter Ōgimachi abdicated. Following imperial precedent, Sanehito's eldest son, the sixteen-year-old Katahito, was selected to sit on the throne and later came to be called Go-Yōzei (see Appendix 2 for imperial lineage). For the next quarter-century of dynamic political and military flux, Go-Yōzei—though mainly sequestered within the imperial palace, or *dairi*, at the heart of Kyoto—was no idle witness to events. He soon proved himself an engaged, influential participant in major affairs, de-

termined to preserve the court's hereditary dignity and the emperor's sacred aura and to maintain both against the constraints continuously imposed on the *dairi* by Hideyoshi in his role as *kanpaku*.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPEROR-WARLORD RELATIONS

During the Momoyama period, leading warlords, even while preoccupied with battles for hegemony, were aware of the value of imperial sanction and began restoring the impoverished court and aristocratic clans to financial viability.[1] A first step in the unification process had been Emperor Ōgimachi's overture to Nobunaga to bring order to war-torn Kyoto. Nobunaga had complied, entering Kyoto in 1568 and installing Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537–1597) as pro forma shogun. Within four years, Nobunaga had ordered Yoshiaki into exile and was governing in his place.

Over the next decade Nobunaga extended a helpful hand to the imperial household, while demanding honors in return. He provided Ōgimachi with funds to reconstruct the imperial palace, he restored imperial estates that had recently been usurped, and he turned over to the emperor allotments of land seized from defeated military adversaries. Ōgimachi repaid Nobunaga with court titles, elevating him to third rank at court in 1574 and to senior second rank in 1578. Nobunaga soon relinquished the titles, apparently concerned that these esteemed credentials would entrap him in a web of debt to the emperor and his court. What Ōgimachi thought about Nobunaga's actions is uncertain; in fact, little is known about the thoughts of emperors through this phase. Recent scholarship clarifies, however, that imperial authority increased with a decrease in the number of competing warlords, along with formerly powerful clerical and aristocratic rival groups.[2]

While proffering financial assistance to the court, Nobunaga simultaneously endeavored to outshine the prestige of the emperor. To this end, Nobunaga commissioned a massive fortress, Azuchi Castle, near but not within Kyoto.[3] Nobunaga intended Azuchi Castle to overshadow the imperial palace as the locus of authority and status in the land. Nobunaga also staged displays of power closer to the imperial precincts, including the parade of military retainers he ordered to march through the streets of Kyoto, in effect flexing his military muscles for the entire city to see. Among those he assembled as viewers for the occasion were court aristocrats. In the same year, 1581, Nobunaga challenged imperial authority more overtly when he recommended that Ōgimachi abdicate in favor of his son Prince Sanehito, whom Nobunaga had adopted.[4] But Nobunaga died the following year, and Sanehito three years later without even being enthroned.

Like Nobunaga, Hideyoshi used a variety of strategies to demonstrate his new authority and to supersede still-powerful rivals, primarily warlords as yet unsubdued, but aristocratic claimants as well. One way to overawe these rivals and bring them to heel was with monumental architecture. Hideyoshi's main fortress at Osaka was deliberately made to surpass in size not only Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle, but all castles previously built in Japan.[5] At the same time Hideyoshi ordered construction of an expansive castle-palace in Kyoto, the Jurakutei (also read Jurakudai; "Mansion of Assembled Pleasures").

While thus demonstrating his military-political dominance, Hideyoshi also extended his largesse toward Emperor Ōgimachi and his grandson and successor Emperor Go-Yōzei. In return, Ōgimachi granted Hideyoshi the title of minister of the center (*naidaijin*) in the third month of 1585, and in the seventh month of that year raised him to imperial chancellor (*kanpaku*). It was a considerable departure for the emperor to name a warrior as *kanpaku*, one of the highest posts at court. This title had traditionally been given only to the members of five clans (*go-sekke*) in the Fujiwara line: the Ichijō, Konoe, Kujō, Nijō, and Takatsukasa. Maintaining the exclusivity of *go-sekke* entitlement was one of the most enduring signifiers of courtier identity. Hideyoshi was, in fact, the first military lord to receive

the title of *kanpaku*, and his appointment was only possible because Konoe Sakihisa (1536–1612) had adopted Hideyoshi, providing him with a link to the Fujiwara.

In gratitude for being appointed chancellor, Hideyoshi organized a series of Nō performances for presentation at the imperial palace.[6] Hideyoshi also appeared at court with tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) in 1585, and, guided by Rikyū, performed a tea service for Ōgimachi.[7] Though courtiers are known to have attended tea gatherings elsewhere, this was the first instance in which a monarch is recorded as being the guest in a formal tea service at the imperial palace.[8] Later, in 1586, Hideyoshi ordered his portable tearoom called the "golden tea chamber" (*kigane no chazashiki* or *ōgon no chashitsu*) be set up at the imperial palace. This structure, which Hideyoshi's own craftsmen had created, was gilded inside and out, with crimson-dyed wool covering tatami mats and red fabric covering the upper parts of sliding doors. Moreover, the tea utensils that Hideyoshi used in his glittering tearoom were all either golden or gilded, except for a tea whisk made from bamboo. Possibly Hideyoshi commissioned the golden room and utensils precisely to serve tea to the emperor.[9]

Hideyoshi also contributed funds to the ceremonies of accession of Go-Yōzei, and he commissioned a large set of lacquered pieces for the new emperor.[10] In addition, Hideyoshi ordered construction of an imperial palace for Go-Yōzei and a retirement palace for Ōgimachi.[11] With Hideyoshi in attendance, Go-Yōzei ascended the throne on the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of 1586. At the Accession (*Senso*), a largely private court ceremony, the young emperor sat on the tiered platform known as the "high august seat," or *takamikura*, in the Hall of State at the palace. Here he received the imperial regalia, the sword, mirror, and strand of jewels.[12] (Two of three regalia kept at the palace, the sword and mirror, were duplicates and originals were kept at Owari and Ise, respectively.) Later, Hideyoshi and the assembled courtiers witnessed Go-Yōzei's installation at the Accession Audience (*Sokui*), a more public and complicated affair.

Not only was Go-Yōzei a new emperor, he was also a new husband: just three weeks before his ascension, Go-Yōzei married Konoe Sakiko (later known as Chūkamon'in or Chūwamon'in; 1575–1630). The groom was fifteen years old, the bride a mere twelve. Sakiko hailed from the distinguished Konoe family, one of the clans of the Fujiwara line. In the recent past the Konoe had enjoyed close ties with the Ashikaga shogunal family; for example, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511–1550) had married a Konoe lady in 1534. Yet it had been some time since a woman of this family had been selected as the high consort to an emperor. Sakiko's father, Konoe Sakihisa, had advanced at court to the post of chancellor and had distinguished himself as well on the battlefield. Sakihisa allowed Hideyoshi to adopt Sakiko into the Toyotomi family, after which, on Hideyoshi's urging, Sakiko was invited into the inner circles at court and engaged to the future emperor.

Hideyoshi maintained close ties with Go-Yōzei on the throne and simultaneously supported the court's recovery, which allowed him to manipulate both monarch and courtiers. With generous gifts and financial backing, the warlord enabled the court to enjoy a level of prosperity unknown for over a century. During the mid 1580s Hideyoshi frequently appeared at the imperial palace, sometimes to participate in ceremonial events and at other times to attend entertainments. Concurrently, Hideyoshi rose within the court hierarchy from *kanpaku* to the highest post, *daijō daijin* (great minister of state), in 1586.[13] As a prime example of "the lowborn surpassing the highborn" (*gekokujō*), Hideyoshi might have worried about appearing boorish at the palace, where strict adherence to age-old customs and skillful participation in refined pastimes was the rule. To avoid social faux-pas, Hideyoshi trained in courtly etiquette under Hosokawa Fujitaka (Yūsai; 1534–1610), a cultured warrior lord well versed in aristocratic manners and arts.[14]

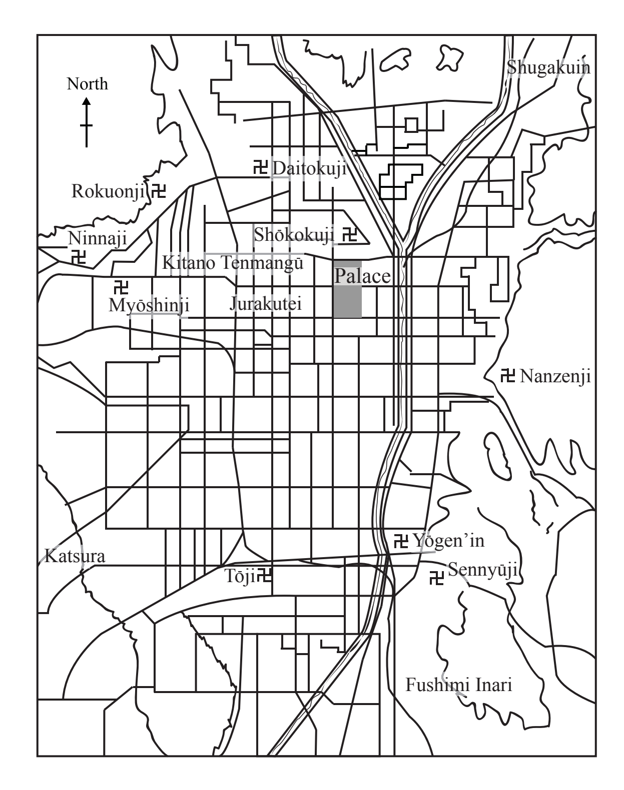
In 1589 Hideyoshi's first son died at age two. Left without his coveted heir, the warlord requested the emperor's permission to adopt an imperial prince. Go-Yōzei acceded to Hideyoshi's adopting

his own younger brother, Prince Kosamaru (later known as Hachijōnomiya Toshihito), much as Sanehito (Go-Yōzei's father) had been adopted by Nobunaga. Later, as Hideyoshi prepared to invade Korea (on the way to a planned invasion of China), he proclaimed that he would put Go-Yōzei on the throne of China and Kosamaru on the throne of Japan.[15] Neither hope would be fulfilled. Two Korean invasions were defeated, and in 1593 another son was born to Hideyoshi, who therefore eventually rescinded the adoption of Kosamaru. In compensation Hideyoshi bestowed upon the prince income and lands, including a site for a palatial residence in Kyoto. Additionally, Hideyoshi proclaimed Kosamaru the head of a new princely lineage bearing the name of Hachijōnomiya, making him the first of that family line.[16] Hachijōnomiya Toshihito is best remembered as the founder—and in part the designer—of the exquisite villa-and-garden complex at Katsura on the southwestern outskirts of Kyoto.

Emperors Ōgimachi and Go-Yōzei benefitted greatly from Hideyoshi's patronage, and they responded by heaping court titles and honors on the warlord. Most importantly, in 1599, at the petition of Hideyoshi's family, Go-Yōzei granted the warlord posthumous status as a divinity, signified by the name Toyokuni Daimyōjin (Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country).[17] Having an ancestor who was a god was politically highly advantageous for Hideyoshi's survivors. But why did the monarch confer divinity on Hideyoshi? To answer this question, we need to consider the complex history of their ambivalent relationship, and one way to access that history is through a study of artworks, including screen paintings of the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* and *Nō Performance*.

IMPERIAL EXCURSION TO JURAKUTEI

In 1588 Toyotomi Hideyoshi hosted a grand celebration at his new mansion Jurakutei, located in the heart of Kyoto (fig. 1).[18] His ranking guest was Go-Yōzei, the first monarch in over a century and a half to have dignified anyone of lower rank with such a visit. Ranking nobles and warriors filled out the guest list, invited in large part to see with their own eyes this unprecedented imperial act. Hideyoshi had begun building Jurakutei in 1586, intending it as the seat of his rule in the ancient capital. He hurried along the work such that the expansive complex was completed in the following year.[19] Encircled by a moat and a tall stone wall, the Jurakutei grounds featured elegant gardens and palatial buildings with opulently decorated interiors. Some halls were adorned with panel paintings by Kaihō Yūshō (1533–1615), an artist born into a warrior family, raised in a Zen temple, and independent of any artistic lineage. Other Jurakutei halls were painted by Kano Eitoku (1543–1590) and members of his atelier, including the talented Sanraku (1559–1635).[20] Hideyoshi had discovered Sanraku and had encouraged Eitoku to adopt him into the Kano family of painters.



1 Map of Kyoto in the late Momoyama period, indicating sites mentioned in the text.

The imperial excursion (*gyōkō* or *miyuki*) to Jurakutei conveyed significant messages to citizens of the ancient capital, perhaps most notably the revival of imperial prestige (which had sunk low during the *Sengoku jidai*) and with it, that of Hideyoshi. In addition to the young emperor, Hideyoshi's other prominent guests were Go-Yōzei's recently retired grandfather, Ōgimachi'in, the empress dowager Shinjōtōmon'in (Kajūji Haruko; 1555–1620), and Go-Yōzei's empress, Chūkamon'in. The parade of Go-Yōzei's entourage is captured in the pair of screens of the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* (*Jurakutei gyōkō-zu byōbu*) from the Sakai City Museum (fig. 2).[21] The screens, which by visual evidence can be dated to soon after the event, capture the pageantry of the occasion in impressive detail rendered from a bird's-eye view.[22] Within the procession and among the onlookers are scores of people, each figure idealized, at least in part. The artist rendered forms with ink and polychrome, applied gold to the ground and to bands of wafting clouds, and added *gofun* (a paste of shell white) relief patterns. The current state of the painting—mounted as a pair of two-panel folding screens—is probably fragmentary; what remains is likely the four left panels from a pair of six-panel screens, with the missing imperial palace no doubt once pictured at the right side of the composition.

The Jurakutei imperial excursion marked not only the first visit of an emperor to a warrior's estate in over a century, but also the first appearance of an emperor on public parade in decades. The 1588 excursion did, however, rely upon precedents set in 1408 and 1437, when earlier monarchs had been invited—or rather, commanded—to visit the residence of Ashikaga shoguns.[23] More recently Oda Nobunaga had apparently initiated plans for Emperor Ōgimachi to visit Azuchi Castle, but died before the visit could occur.[24]

In planning the five-day imperial visit to Jurakutei, Hideyoshi called on Maeda Gen'i (1539–1602), his administrator of the Kyoto region, to research the precedents for imperial excursions. Documents relate that Hideyoshi took an active part in organizing the events and entertaining his imperial guests at Jurakutei. In fact, Hideyoshi ordered his secretarial attendant, Ōmura Yūko (d. 1596), to devote an entire chapter to the imperial visit in his chronicle *Tenshō-ki* (Records of the Tenshō Era, 1573–1592) which Hideyoshi appraised.[25] In the chapter, entitled "Juraku gyōkō-ki" (Record of the Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei), Yūko outlines the event's protocol, gifts, and activities in painstaking detail and presents Hideyoshi's accomplishment in terms so full of hyperbole that the account reads more as propaganda than as factual recording.[26] Some passages describe Hideyoshi as a staunch defender of the emperor and his court. From Yūko's minute recounting of the imperial party's visit to Hideyoshi's Jurakutei, we gain a concrete sense of how the warlord manipulated the imperial family to enhance his own prestige. Hideyoshi had copies of the chapter distributed to leading noble and warrior clans, so that this account is what people would remember about the imperial visit.[27]

In the "Juraku gyōkō-ki" Yūko relates that on the first day of the event, Hideyoshi went to the imperial palace to personally escort the emperor.[28] Go-Yōzei was waiting for him, and as the emperor was about to enter his carriage Hideyoshi bent to hold up the train of the imperial robes. This was a sign of deference, as well as the duty of an imperial chancellor. The warlord then escorted the procession back to his magnificent mansion, although not in the lead but at a respectful distance to the rear of the imperial carriage. Six thousand soldiers were stationed along the route, and the procession stretched nearly a mile, the full distance from the *dairi* to Jurakutei. According to the "Juraku gyōkō-ki," Go-Yōzei rode in an ox-drawn carriage, followed by Ōgimachi'in, and both imperial figures entered through the formal gate of Jurakutei, reserved for the most prestigious guests. Given the rarity with which an emperor was hosted at a warrior lord's mansion, the public procession of the emperor sent a message far and wide that this warlord enjoyed special access to Japan's loftiest source of prestige.

Many aspects of the procession appear in the screens of the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei.*

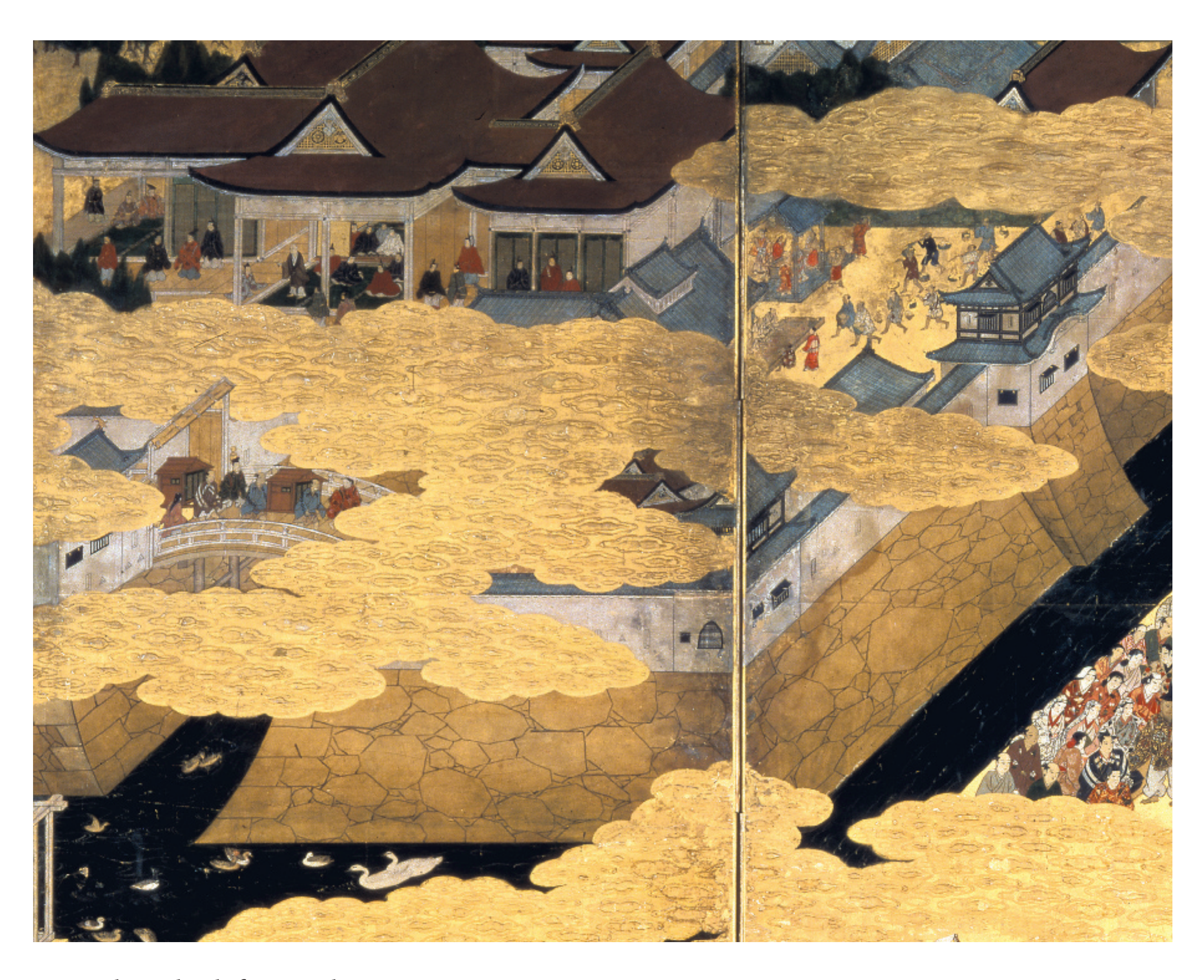


2 *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei.* Late 16th century. Pair of two-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 144.1 x 115.6 cm. Sakai City Museum, Sakai.



Crowds of onlookers line the route as the procession advances through Kyoto's streets, past the mansions of military lords and toward the Jurakutei compound, where we can even make out a number of figures within the buildings (fig. 2a). The main hall, with its elevated roof, appears to be Hideyoshi's reception area, and we may be able to identify one figure within: the tonsured man standing to the viewer's left of the entrance is possibly Sen no Rikyū, Hideyoshi's renowned tea advisor.[29] In the second panel from the right of the right-hand screen, a large crew of attendants in white hunting robes and mallow-bark anklets transports the curtained imperial palanquin (*hōren*), which is topped by a gilded sculpture of a phoenix with outstretched wings, a symbol of virtuous imperial reign adopted from China (fig. 2b). As was customary, the emperor's form—especially his face—is not pictured.[30]

There is a marked discrepancy between the rendering of the emperor's vehicle in the Sakai City Museum screens and the description of that vehicle in the "Juraku gyōkō-ki." The text has the emperor riding in an ox-drawn carriage—not in a palanquin, as in the painting. Hideyoshi himself checked the chapter before it was issued, and he would certainly have wanted such an important detail to be recorded correctly. If so, the artist of the Sakai screens was not drawing upon his own eye-witness experience



2a Jurakutei, detail of upper right screen.

of the procession, nor upon written accounts such as Yūko's "Juraku gyōkō-ki." Instead, the artist may have relied upon earlier painted portrayals of imperial outings.[31]

Representations of imperial outings survive as details in painted handscrolls, fans, and other formats, and it is worth considering several early examples, because the image of an imperial palanquin was itself associated with the prestige and enigma of a concealed emperor. Although monarchs left the confines of the palace on special occasions to fulfill their responsibilities—for sacred ceremonies or festival events—only very rarely were they accompanied by so many warriors and paraded in grand style through the streets, whether in the imperial palanquin or in an ox-drawn carriage. Yet images of imperial processions and outings occur quite frequently in medieval and early modern painting, indicating their significance.[32] The opening scene from the narrative handscrolls, *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court (Nenjū gyōji emaki)*, for example, shows the emperor's palanquin (fig. 3).[33] This set of handscrolls, painted in the mid-seventeenth century by two leading imperial palace artists, is apparently a faithful copy of a lost twelfth-century original. The copyists were Sumiyoshi Jokei (1598/9–1670) and his son, Gukei (1631–1705), who made their duplicate at the request of



2b The imperial palanquin, detail of lower right screen.

Emperor Go-Mizunoo.[34] From this and other visual and written sources, we can conclude that the curtained, phoenix-topped imperial palanquin was a traditional vehicle by Hideyoshi's time.

The opening scene in the *Annual Rites* handscrolls depicts the visit of the reigning emperor to the retirement palaces of his father and his mother (*chōkin gyōkō*), which customarily took place on the second day of the new year. More specifically, this section represents the 1163 trip of Emperor Nijō to see his father, retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the very person for whom the original handscrolls were produced.[35] The young Emperor Nijō stands on the veranda at the south side of the Hall of State at the palace, flanked by two ladies-in-waiting, one responsible for carrying the box holding the imperial sword and the other for the box holding the imperial seal. Porters have arrived with the emperor's palanquin. When on palace grounds, the emperor is shown in person, but once he leaves the *dairi* walls, all we see is his vehicle. Indeed, the veiled presence is what most people saw, not the emperor himself.

Although early scenes of imperial outings sometimes pictured the monarch riding in an ox-cart, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century scenes of imperial processions—which are numerous enough to form their own subcategory, identified by modern art historians as one type of "aristocratic and warrior genre painting" (*kōbu fūzokuga*)—usually sequester the august presence in his palanquin.[36] The imperial palanquin embodied the mystique of a hidden, august being and served as a significant metonymic device. In early aristocratic



3 Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei. The annual visit of the reigning emperor to the retirement palaces of his father and mother from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Mid-17th century. Detail of scroll one in a set of handscrolls; ink and colors on paper. H. 45 cm. Private collection.

genre paintings, one of two additional forms topped by a golden phoenix may appear. One is the canopy of the *takamikura* throne on which the emperor sat during formal events in the Hall of State, and the other is the roof of a so-called divine palanquin (*mikoshi*) carrying a Shinto deity in festival procession. *Mikoshi*, which often are constructed as miniature buildings and can have four, six, or eight sides, are carried on the shoulders of porters by means of two or four poles. Another detail from the *Annual Rites* handscrolls illustrates a *mikoshi*; a scene of Kyoto's Gion Shrine Festival (*Gion goryō-e*) painted in monochrome shows a divinity's palanquin with a phoenix finial comparable to the one atop the imperial palanquin (fig. 4).

Returning to the *Imperial Excursion* screens, the finely embellished imperial palanquin proclaims the presence of Emperor Go-Yōzei (fig. 2b). In response, a group of onlookers kneels and touches their hands to the ground with their heads bowed. In the "Juraku gyōkō-ki," Yūko describes the fanfare of the event:

> Numberless people from the five regions and seven roadways have come to the capital, but they put an end to their chatter and quiet their voices, bowing respectfully as the imperial carriage passes. All along the road there is only the reverberations of the drums. It is a moving occasion, one which is surely etched in the hearts of many.[37]

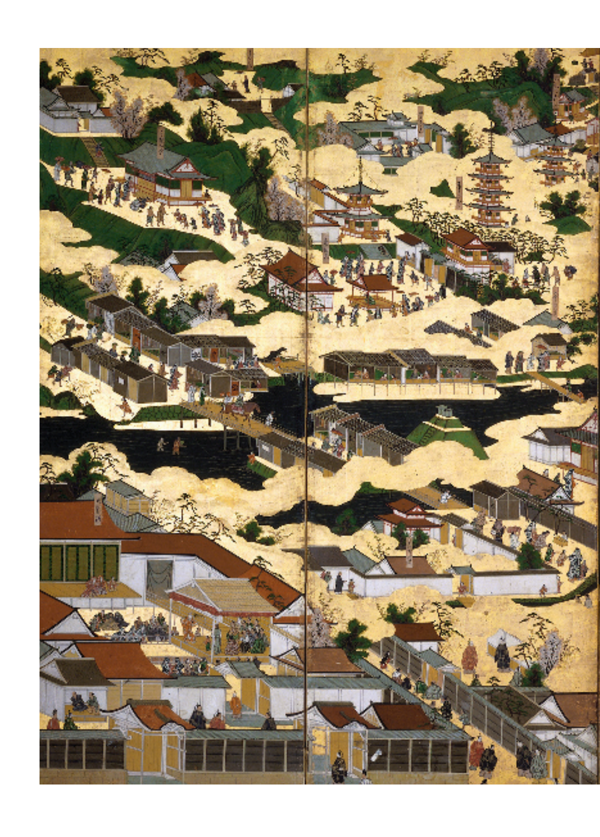
The drummers are absent from the painted version, but the crowd's reverent attention translates into pictorial terms what Yūko described. In the screens the procession circles around from the upper right, following a clockwise path, and advances toward the cluster of Jurakutei structures in the distance near the center and top of the composition. Hideyoshi's mansion is portrayed as a fortified precinct, separated from the city by a moat and castle ramparts; the tower of the complex, the three-storey donjon (*tenshu*) at right, is cut off by the upper border of the composition.

The *Imperial Excursion* screens capture a cityscape somewhat comparable to scenes found in another type of screen painting: the *Scenes in and around the Capital* (*Rakuchū rakugai-zu byōbu*), which had been produced in large format for a number of decades and showed more expansive vistas of Kyoto. Several screens of *Scenes in and around the Capital* survive from the sixteenth century, along with many more from the seventeenth century, likely indicating that they were being painted in increasing numbers.[38] Their typical format is a pair of six-panel folding screens, depicting famous sites of the ancient capital separated by bands of clouds, as in the screens from the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation (fig. 5).[39] Temples, shrines, castles, and villas are arranged in an orderly fashion to allow for ready identification by viewers, and therefore to function as reminders of the capital.[40] The early *Scenes in and around the Capital* also suggest the social and political conditions in the ancient capital under the Ashikaga shoguns.[41] Similarly, a specific purpose animates the Sakai *Imperial Excursion* screens, namely, to confirm Hideyoshi's connection with the imperial household.

Although the *Imperial Excursion* screens contain a great deal of information, we have already noted a few discrepancies between the painting and Yūko's "Juraku gyōkō-ki." Which is more histori-



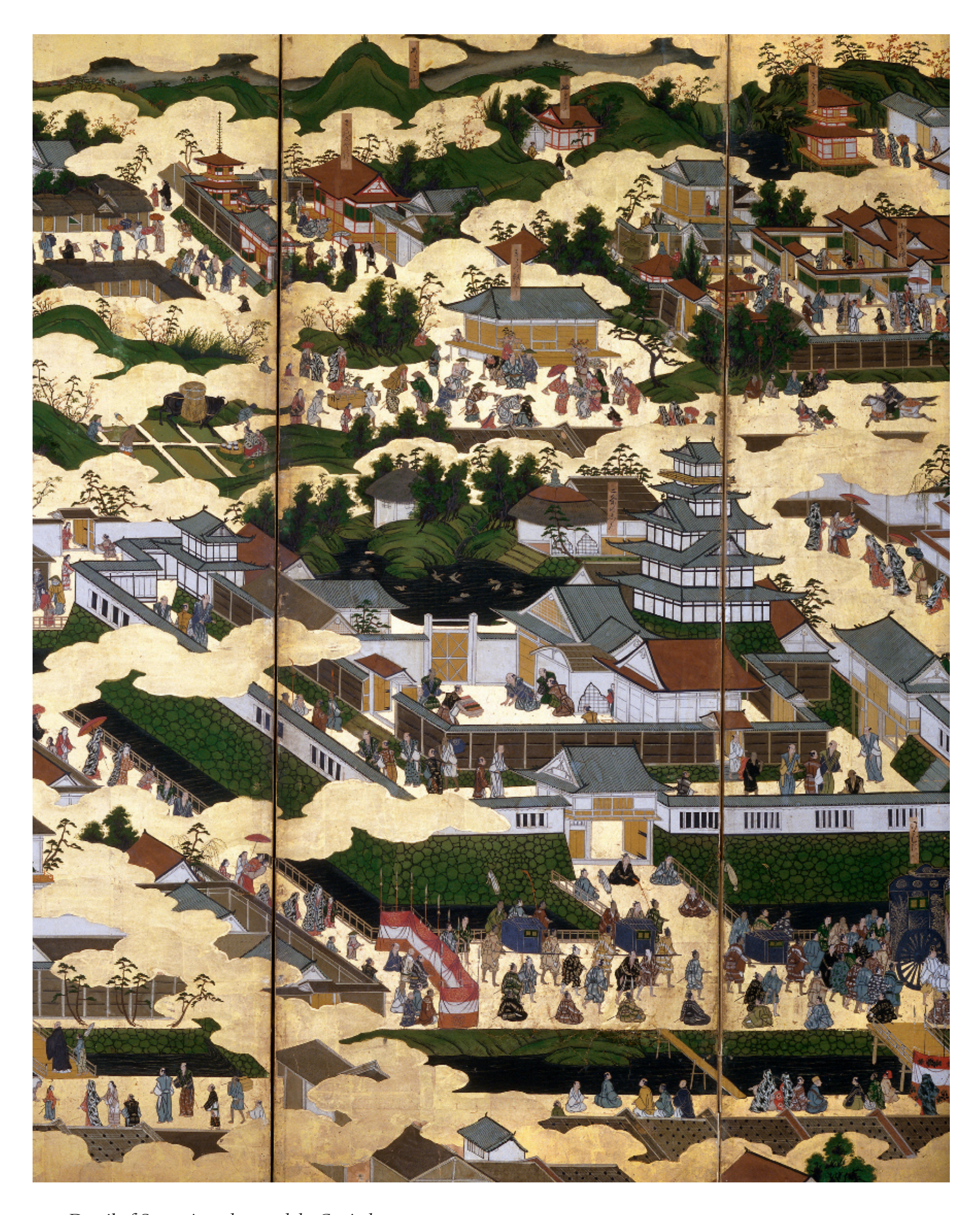
4 Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei. The Gion Shrine procession from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Detail of scroll nine in the same handscroll set as fig. 3.







5 *Scenes in and around the Capital*. Ca. 1629. Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 156.1 x 352.2 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York. Photograph by Bruce Schwarz.



5a Detail of *Scenes in and around the Capital.*

cally accurate is difficult to ascertain, but clearly both omitted any incident distracting from the splendor of the event. Everything in the text, personally commissioned and approved by Hideyoshi, would have had to glorify him as host and Go-Yōzei as guest.[42] Similarly, the screens honor the two elite parties. Considering the screens' large scale and costly materials—mineral pigments and gold paint and foil—we can assume a patron of sizable means. It remains unclear, however, exactly who the screens were made for and who owned them.[43] The mansions of Hideyoshi's leading retainers featured in the screens might indicate that the patron was affiliated with the Toyotomi clan, or perhaps was even Hideyoshi himself. Examination of the painting style leads to a similar conclusion.

As the Sakai screens lack signatures, seals, and accompanying documents, we cannot know for certain the artist; yet, stylistic analysis suggests that they were finished in the late 1580s or early 1590s.[44] Furthermore, based on visual evidence in the Sakai screens, we might speculate that the artist was a member of the studio established by Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610).[45] Specific stylistic features resemble those in works by Hasegawa Kyūzō (1568–1593), the son and intended heir of Tōhaku. Tōhaku is renowned as a master of bold ink painting following certain precedents of *kanga* ("Han pictures"; i.e., Chinese painting), but Tōhaku, Kyūzō and other artists in the Hasegawa studio were also skilled at *yamato-e* ("pictures of Japan"; i.e., native Japanese painting), which often features renderings with rich jewel-like colors, charming landscape details, and rich narrative potential realized by means of the figures.[46] Specifically, the scale and rendering of figures, along with the billowing cloud formations and light scattering of evergreen trees, are close to those in Kyūzō's screen, the *Emperor's Visit to Ohara* (*Ohara gokō-zu byōbu*), in the Tokyo National Museum.[47] The figures in the *Emperor's Visit* screen are distinctive in their animation and individuality, as well as their supple linear definition, like the figures in the Sakai screens.

Painters of the Hasegawa studio worked for Hideyoshi in the final years of the warlord's life, making it reasonable again to speculate that the Sakai screens were created by Kyūzō for Hideyoshi or for a ranking Toyotomi supporter. Most notably, Kyūzō worked with Tōhaku to complete paintings on the panels and sliding doors of Shōunji, the memorial chapel of Hideyoshi's son Tsurumatsu, who died in childhood.[48] The Shōunji paintings were ordered by Hideyoshi, and the fact that the Hasegawa artists received such an important commission indicates the warlord's appreciation of Hasegawa painting. Kyūzō completed his panels for Shōunji about a year before his own untimely death at the age of twenty-four.

No large-scale precedents survive with renderings of a recent historical event such as that captured in the *Imperial Excursion* screens, and the painter seems to have struggled to resolve several pictorial problems. Most evident, perhaps, is an odd transition in scale from foreground to distance. The two spatial zones, separated by bands of gold mist, meet near the center of the composition. Here, figures at the head of the emperor's procession pass through the gateway and over the bridge to Jurakutei. These are markedly smaller than the figures just behind them but not yet through the gate, creating a jarring transition. Notwithstanding, the event portrayed in the screens of the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* expresses the wealth and power of the Toyotomi, and thus the screens were overall useful as political tools. Saying that the Sakai screens succeed as visual propaganda is readily ascertained by the screens' subject matter, but learning that stylistic features of the screens point to patronage by a Toyotomi leader or retainer places the context of production squarely in the milieu of the most powerful warrior contingent in the land. Thus we can advance our interpretation of the Sakai screens and say that Toyotomi supporters recognized the value of such works in promoting their larger agenda.

According to Yūko's "Juraku gyōkō-ki," on the second day of the imperial visit to Jurakutei Hideyoshi announced that the court would receive a series of generous financial gifts. The gifts for the emperor included 553 *mai* of silver and 800 *koku* of



rice, and even more important, Hideyoshi's promise that the court would receive all annual taxes on rented property in Kyoto.[49] Furthermore, Hideyoshi arranged for warrior lords to declare fealty to him and to the emperor. The following three days of the imperial visit were dedicated to cultural pursuits. In a poetry party on the third day the courtiers and military lords took turns in composing the hundred-verses of a series whose theme was the "celebration of pine trees." As the pine is an auspicious symbol representing first and foremost long life, Hideyoshi and all the participants in composing poems for this sequence were not only wishing each other longevity, but also expressing their hopes for the longevity of the accord they had reached.[50] The theme of pines held a second meaning, which everyone at the Jurakutei party surely knew: Pine (*Matsu*) was Hideyoshi's "poet" pen name, which made him too a focus of the hundred-verse sequence.[51] The emperor's poem reads:

Wakite kyō	Today is the day
matsukai are ya	We achieve what we awaited.
matsugae no	In the branches of the pine
yoyo no chigiri o	Is the promise of our relations
kakete misetsutsu	Extending for ages.

The poem of Hideyoshi reads:

Yorozuyo no	As my lord of myriad ages
kimi ga miyuki ni	Has proceeded here in state,
narenaren	We may come close together
midorigi takaki	Like the green pine
nokino tamamatsu	Standing tall by the eaves.[52]

Ōmura Yūko, himself an accomplished poet, recorded the exchange of verse at the Jurakutei poetry party in his "Juraku gyōkō-ki," but needless to say, he did not even hint at the disparity in the literary training or talent between the monarch and the warlord.[53] Based on Yūko's chronicle, the exchange of the hundred verses gained a recognized, even iconic status. Indeed, within a decade or two, the nobleman and esteemed calligrapher Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638) had singled it out to copy in a handscroll.[54]

WATCHING A NŌ PERFORMANCE

On the fourth day of the Jurakutei imperial visit the warrior host and his aristocratic guests viewed ten performances of dance and music. A single eight-panel folding screen in the Kobe City Museum, en-



6 *Watching a Nō Performance.* Early 17th century. Eight-panel folding screen; ink, colors and gold leaf on paper. 106.5 x 42.8 cm. Kobe City Museum, Kobe.

titled *Watching a Nō Performance* (*Kannō-zu byōbu*), likely represents one of those entertainments (fig. 6).[55] It was made by an anonymous painter in the early years of the seventeenth century. Near its center, an actor on stage plays Okina, the title role of the Nō play that opened a series of performances on special occasions.[56] In the four panels at right the audience appears in two groups. A variety of individuals, even Europeans, gathers at the edge of the stage, and another group is assembled within and on the veranda of an elegant structure at right. Despite the bamboo blinds, the figures seated within the structure in the second-from-right panel are visible. Modern scholars identify them as the emperor, his wife, mother, and ladies-in-waiting.[57] The emperor's form is obscured by the blinds, but we do see him; in fact, this is as much as we ever see of the emperor outside the *dairi* in illustrations of historical events. Apparently Hideyoshi is nearby on the veranda; he is the figure wearing a black tunic and holding an opened fan sitting among men who are presumably his closest advisors. Across the veranda are the ladies of his household.

Originally performed by small troops scattered across the country, Nō became a favorite theatrical form of Muromachi-period military lords. By the late sixteenth century many high-ranking warriors—including Hideyoshi—could recite from memory scenes from renowned plays. Hideyoshi commissioned playwrights to compose Nō plays, took part in their performance, and enacted his own role in ten plays that are known as *Taikō Nō* (Nō for Taikō Hideyoshi).[58] After performances of *Taikō Nō* Hideyoshi called upon court critics to compose laudatory reviews of his performance.[59]

The Kitano Tenmangū, the Kyoto shrine pictured at upper left in the *Nō Performance* screen, was supported by members of the Toyotomi clan, among others. The shrine—dedicated to a deified figure from early court culture, Sugawara no Michizane (845–903)—had been the site of Hideyoshi's 1587 Kitano Tea Gathering, to which he famously invited the entire populace. Toyotomi support of Kitano Tenmangū continued after Hideyoshi's death, and his heir, Hideyori (1593–1615), nominally ordered reconstruction of several shrine buildings in 1607. Records indicate that in this instance—as in many others—it was his mother, Yododono (1567–1615), who acted.[60]

Stylistic analysis reveals that the *Nō Performance* screen was produced in the first part of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the artist portrayed the gate of Kitano Tenmangū in a refurbished state; consequently, the screen can be dated to just after

the 1607 renovations. Scholars speculate that the screen was produced before 1615, when Toyotomi supporters were defeated and the clan was annihilated.[61] Hideyoshi had been dead since 1598, and the Tokugawa clan had since then been jockeying for power, and as the screen seems to imply loyalists were clinging to the Toyotomi clan's domination of Kyoto and environs, and hoping still to affirm Toyotomi clan hegemony. The screen can be counted, then, as one of many paintings that memorialized Hideyoshi and his contributions to the restoration of Kyoto after its destruction during the Age of the Country at War.

No documentary evidence survives to identify the artist of the *Nō Performance* screen. Such anonymity was not uncommon, even for works commissioned by prominent clients. Certain features in the screen are characteristic of painting from the early seventeenth century, but nothing here points to the hand of a painter from a leading atelier such as the Kano or Tosa workshops. Instead, the work has been attributed, based on its materials and style, to a painter in the employ of a town painting shop (*eya*).[62] The thin sprinkling of gold and silver dust, as well as the minimal use of gold leaf on the screen, suggests that it was perhaps created not for a patron, but for sale on the open market. In addition, the oversized flowers of a blossoming tree in the lower right corner are frequently seen in other works produced at town painting shops. The original owner may have been a retainer of the Toyotomi or a townsman loyal to the Toyotomi who appreciated this painting for its reflection of Hideyoshi's glory.

The *Imperial Excursion* and *Nō Performance* screens, although created by different hands and meant for different audiences, both reveal Hideyoshi's generosity to and expectations of the imperial family. The screens of the imperial excursion—likely created for a Toyotomi client or for a ranking Toyotomi supporter—demonstrate Hideyoshi's power to make the reigning emperor come to him, against all precedent. The fact that the imperial palanquin is so prominently featured in the imperial excursion screens, surrounded by prostrate members of the populace and situated just beneath the massive ramparts of Jurakutei castle, speaks of two main vectors of influence: the emperor and the warlord. While the veiled palanquin served as a metonymic device embodying a charismatic unseen emperor, the fortified, cloud encircled fortress above conveys its own message of Hideyoshi's power and prestige. The screen of a Nō performance—presumably made by a town (i.e., commercial) painter in the early seventeenth century—pictures Hideyoshi's ability to entertain the imperial family in the grandest of styles at the Jurakutei visit. It also reveals that loyalist support for the Toyotomi extended for many years after Hideyoshi's death.

After residing at Jurakutei for four years, in 1591 Hideyoshi decided to move and turn Jurakutei over to Toyotomi Hidetsugu (1568–1595), the son of Hideyoshi's elder sister and Hideyoshi's current heir. With Hideyoshi's backing, Hidetsugu was awarded the court post of *kanpaku*, which allowed Hideyoshi to assume the title of *taikō*, borne by a retired imperial chancellor.[63] Hidetsugu's fortunes reversed in 1595, however, after the birth in 1593 and survival of Hideyoshi's second son and natural heir. Ostensibly angered by something that Hidetsugu had done—what that was remains unclear—Hideyoshi ordered his nephew's suicide along with the execution of all members of Hidetsugu's immediate family, including women and children. Hideyoshi even had Jurakutei demolished.

REBUILDING GO-YŌZEI'S PALACE

About 1590 Hideyoshi sponsored a full reconstruction of Go-Yōzei's palace, a striking element in his financial patronage of the court. Besides ordering the rebuilding of numerous structures, he (or his construction supervisor) also commissioned the painting of interiors by members of the leading Kano workshop.

In earlier centuries, esteemed residents of the palace had been fortunate to see frequent renovations to their buildings, but when the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) was assassinated and struggles among military clans escalated into

full-scale warfare, imperial estates were ravaged and aristocratic tax shields and property rights disregarded. This led to the plummeting of imperial incomes. Continuing and escalating conflict consumed the emperor's palace. Go-Hanazono, named emperor in 1428, had to flee the palace in 1443, when it was attacked by armed insurgents who attempted to kill the monarch and steal the imperial regalia. Similarly Go-Hanazono's son and successor, Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, was forced to take refuge at the stronghold of shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490) for a prolonged period, canceling the court ceremonies that as monarch he was expected to supervise.[64]

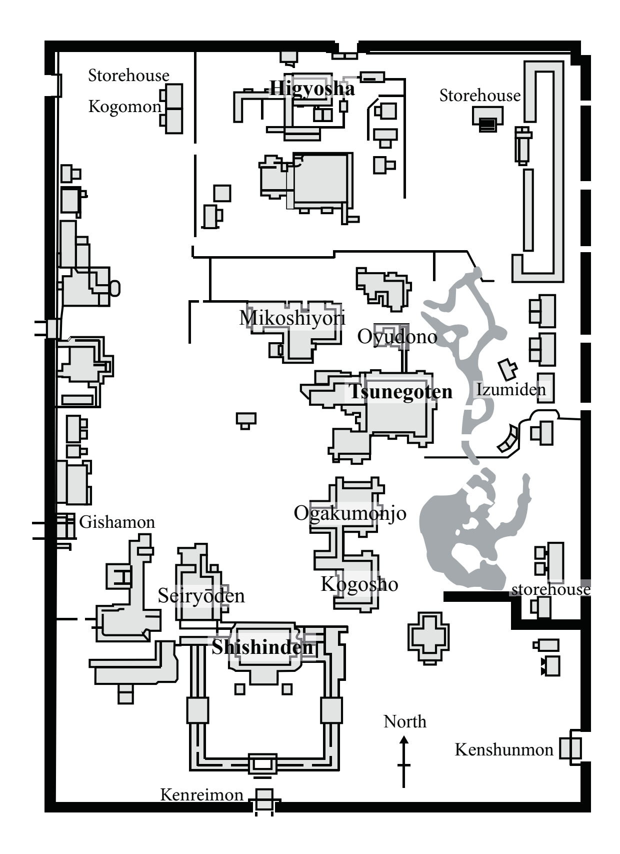
At the end of the Ōnin War (1467–1477), which left Kyoto ravaged, a simple structure was thrown together in haste and surrounded by a mere bamboo fence to serve as a palace for Go-Tsuchimikado.[65] Several decades later the palace was renovated, but when Go-Tsuchimikado died in 1500, it took a month and a half to raise funds sufficient to pay for his burial service. Yet, poor as they were, and dominated by the military overlords, the emperors remained as the leading sponsors of court rituals and cultural activities at the palace, including artistic projects.[66] Go-Hanazono ordered the production and recitation of narrative picture scrolls, even as a boy emperor.[67] Go-Tsuchimikado organized an effort to restock the imperial archive, many manuscripts of which had been destroyed in the Ōnin War, and this fueled the production of numerous copies of texts.[68] As with Go-Tsuchimikado, the reigns of the next two emperors—Go-Kashiwabara and Go-Nara, who occupied the throne in the first half of the sixteenth century—were long primarily because the court still lacked means to conduct ceremonies of succession.[69] Both Go-Kashiwabara and Go-Nara resided in a ramshackle palace for years on end before they received the economic support to complete the final stages of their own enthronements.

Military lords in the second half of the sixteenth century financed several phases of repair to the palace of Go-Kashiwabara and Go-Nara, each more extensive than the previous one.[70] After several contributions to the refurbishment of the palace, in 1579 Nobunaga saw to the building of the Nijōdono for future emperor Go-Yōzei.[71] Hideyoshi, in his turn, supported the 1584 construction of Ōgimachi's palace, and about 1589 or 1590 he appointed Maeda Gen'i to manage construction of a new palace for Go-Yōzei. According to Ōmura Yūko's *Tenshō-ki*:

> The retired emperor's palace had wasted away from of old. Herewith, Asō [Hideyoshi] presented himself at the previous residence of the retired emperor and expressed his wish to reconstruct [the quarters] so that enthronement ceremonies might be carried out and the retired emperor installed in his own palace. [Maeda] Gen'i was appointed Mimbu-kyō Hōin, entrusted with the responsibility, an auspicious day was chosen, and the work began.[72]

To create an impressive *dairi*, workers removed old palace structures, built new ones, and expanded the palace compound. This and certain other building projects of Hideyoshi were actually undertaken by warrior retainers on the warlord's order.[73] In the same general area as the existing Kyoto imperial palace, eleven palace buildings were erected for Go-Yōzei under Gen'i's direction, including new structures for governmental offices and residential chambers.[74]

Although the arrangement and size of certain buildings in Go-Yōzei's palace differed from those in the existing Kyoto imperial palace, many basic features of the layout were the same (fig. 7). Within the larger *dairi* grounds, there was an imperial compound that included halls for work, prayer, and leisure—including the Shishinden, Seiryōden, Tsunegoten, Ogakumonjo, Kogosho, Kirokujo, Naishidokoro, among others—with public buildings at the front (i.e., at the south side) and private structures at the rear (the north side). Many of the residential structures of the palace were built in a traditional style known as *shinden-zukuri*, which had long been associated with imperial authority. In fact, *shinden* construction was regulated by legal codes.[75] The orderly, symmetrical plan of the palace speaks to the formality of ceremonies and hierar-



7 Diagram of the Kyoto Imperial Palace, contemporary.

chies at the court, which required clear articulation of rank and status.

The main buildings of the palace are grouped at the south end of the imperial palace grounds. The Hall of State, or Shishinden (Hall of the Screened Mansion; alternately called the Seiden, Zenden, Nanden, and Gozaisho), stands near the center at the south side of the compound. Constructed of Japanese cypress (*hinoki*), the Shishinden functioned as the official building for enthronements and state ceremonies in the early modern era. The *takamikura*, a platform surrounded by a railing, stood near the middle of the floor of the Shishinden, which was laid with polished wooden boards. Seated on the *takamikura*, the emperor was higher than any of the officials and guests in attendance. Suspended over the *takamikura* was an octagonal canopy topped by a gilt phoenix, and hanging from the canopy were curtains to hide the emperor from view.

The main entrance of the Shishinden was flanked by an evergreen mandarin orange tree (*ukon-no-tachibana*) at right and a cherry tree (*sakon-no-sakura*) at left, as seen from the emperor's position sitting inside the Shishinden facing south. The two trees represent eternity and change, respectively; the eternal element refers to the atemporal sovereign, while the mutable element refers to the regent and other officials who serve at the emperor's side.[76]

Many aspects of the *dairi* had been standard for several centuries, but new features appeared in the lifetime of Go-Yōzei; most notably, the Seiryōden (Pure and Fresh Hall; alternately called the Honden, Goten, Roshin, or Goshin) came to serve a different purpose.[77] Whereas earlier monarchs had used the Seiryōden, which stands just northwest of the Shishinden, as a residential quarter, Go-Yōzei reassigned the Seiryōden as a site for certain rites and gatherings. Thanks to this change, emperors could avoid hours of discomfort in the Shishinden with its open, drafty plan and its hard, wooden floors. The Seiryōden, in contrast, had a number of smaller rooms with tatami mats on the floor. The Tsunegoten (Ordinary Living Quarters), northeast of the Shishinden, was enlarged to serve as the private imperial residence.

KANO PAINTINGS FOR ROYAL CHAMBERS

Many palace interiors had paintings by acclaimed artists of the day. Hideyoshi—or perhaps his supervisor for the 1590 palace construction, Maeda Gen'i—commissioned artists of the Kano workshop to create sliding door and panel paintings for interiors of both Ōgimachi's retirement palace and Go-Yōzei's new palace.[78] The artists worked under the supervision of Kano Eitoku (1543–1590), the fifth-generation head of the main line of Kano painters.[79] Although Japanese art historians frequently use the term "school" for the Kano and several other lineages of painters, this designation is misleading as the groups did not function uniquely

as educational institutions and their organization was closer to an atelier or a house of painters. The Kano workshop followed a patriarchal structure based on a guild-like system in which training was conveyed by secret transmission and in which leadership was passed down from father to son within a family (*ie*).[80] The *ie* structure of traditional Japanese workshops seems to have derived from the organization of early bureaus at the imperial court, which had developed a practice of privately imparting knowledge to young initiates.[81]

Eitoku was known at the palace as early as 1586.[82] By 1589 or 1590, when he oversaw the painting projects for Go-Yōzei's palace, he had already solidified his reputation as the leading artist of his generation. Eitoku's images of heroic animals, massive trees, and Chinese figures—rendered on a large scale as paintings on gold leaf grounds (*kinpeki shōhekiga*) or as monochrome ink paintings (*suibokuga*)—appealed to military rulers such as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.

Working in a bold, distinctive style, Eitoku had already painted the interiors of several great mansions and castles, most notably Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle and Hideyoshi's Osaka Castle. Ōta Gyūichi (1527–after 1610), a renowned chronicler of the age, mentions Eitoku's magnificent 1579 paintings for Azuchi Castle in the *Shin chōkō-ki* (Chronicles of Lord Nobunaga; 1610).[83] Frequently he describes the panel paintings of Azuchi Castle as abundantly golden. Some of them were specifically in monochrome ink, but the majority was apparently done in rich mineral pigments against gold leaf to create brilliant surfaces. Even the scenes painted in ink alone may have featured application of gold leaf.[84] The intended psychological effect was clearly to overwhelm, even intimidate Nobunaga's vassals and visitors.[85] Eitoku is appropriately credited with the dramatic appeal of the Azuchi castle paintings, although he typically worked on major commissions of massive scale with a team of assistants.

Eleven years after creating the panels for Azuchi Castle, Eitoku began the initial stage of painting at Go-Yōzei's palace, working under the supervision of Hideyoshi's advisor, Maeda Gen'i.[86] Acclaim for Eitoku's large-scale commissions of the 1570s and 1580s made him the natural choice of the warrior patrons of the palace. Moreover, the workshop of painters that had previously painted for the palace, the Tosa workshop, had relocated to the port city of Sakai several decades before this.[87]

Thirty-two Chinese Sages

Before completing the project to paint the palace panels, Eitoku died. He had finished a set of panels featuring the Thirty-two Chinese Sages (*Kenjō no shōji*) for Go-Yōzei's Shishinden, which unfortunately no longer survives. Sets of panel paintings of the Thirty-two Sages had long been traditional at the Kyoto imperial palace, placed behind the emperor's throne platform in his Hall of State.[88] Several decades after Eitoku's death, Go-Yōzei's Shishinden was moved to the Kyoto temple of Sennyūji, and when fire broke out at the temple, the paintings must have perished along with the rest of the building.[89] Another group of Shishinden panel paintings—a set produced by Eitoku's son, Kano Takanobu (1571–1618)—do survive. Takanobu's paintings, discussed in relation to the palace of Emperor Go-Mizunoo in Chapter 3, provide some idea of what Eitoku's panels might have looked like (figs. 31–32).

The Thirty-two Sages—all supposedly historical figures dating from Shang (ca. 1750–1045 BCE) through Tang (618–906)—have been associated with ethical rule in Chinese tradition. They had been integrated into orthodox political imagery centuries earlier, first in China and then in Japan. The Chinese tradition of painting moral paragons on palace walls dates from the Han period (202 BCE–220), when Emperor Xuandi (r. 79–49 BCE) had the walls of his palace adorned with portraits of eleven of his most distinguished ministers.[90] Walls of the Tang imperial palace bore images of the Thirty-two Sages, along with other meritorious retainers and wise men. Chinese sage paintings obviously merged ethics and politics.[91]

In Japan already by the ninth century artists were painting the Thirty-two Sages as architectural elements of the Shishinden.[92] Nakayama Kōyō (1717–1780), in his *Gadan keiroku* (Idle Chats on

Painting) of 1775, holds that the first such set was painted by Kose no Kanaoka (act. late 9th–10th century) and accompanied by calligraphy written by Ono no Tōfū (894–966).[93] The aristocrat Tachibana no Narisue mentions Shishinden paintings of the Thirty-two Sages in his *Kokon chomonjū* (Stories Heard from Writers Old and New), compiled in 1254.[94] In 1402 an artist at court named Fujiwara Mitsumasa (act. early 15th century) painted the Thirty-two Sages, as recorded in the *Fukushōin kanpaku-ki*.[95] Panel paintings of sages for the palace are also mentioned in a 1488 entry in the diary of aristocrat Kanroji Chikanaga (1424–1500).[96] Thus, with semi-legendary moral philosophers aligned behind him, the Japanese emperor had long appeared in ceremonies as one of a cohort of virtuous rulers.[97]

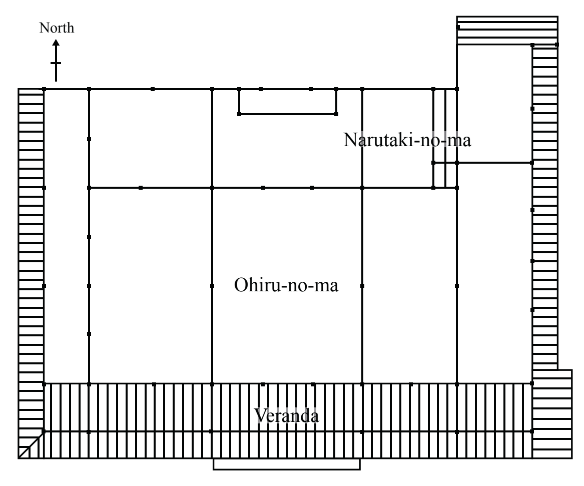
No documentation exists to prove that the young Go-Yōzei valued the implications of the subject or, for that matter, that he played any part in choosing the paintings for his palace. It was tradition that dictated the display of the Thirty-two Sages in the Shishinden, as well as a number of other painting themes for the *dairi*. Moreover, it may have been the warrior patron, his project manager, the artists or any combination of these who made the remaining decisions about themes for the palace panels.

Based on the pre-established connection between Hideyoshi and Eitoku, as well as later patterns of warrior sponsorship of palace reconstruction, we can say that Hideyoshi or Gen'i likely selected Eitoku as the painter in charge of ornamenting Go-Yōzei's palace interiors. It is plausible also to assume that the imperial recipient appreciated Eitoku's work or at least appreciated having the leading artist of the day as painter of his *dairi*. According to an entry from the sixth month of 1590 in the court annals, the *Oyudononoue no nikki* (Records of the Chief of the Imperial Housekeeping Office; kept from 1477–1625 and 1683–1826), Go-Yōzei had an opportunity to view Eitoku's progress on the paintings when the courtier Kajūji Haretoyo (1544–1602/3) gave him a tour of the new palace.[98]

It is not clear if the construction of the Shishinden was yet complete when Eitoku died in the eighth month of 1590; if not, his paintings of the Thirty-two Sages were probably produced earlier at a *dairi* workshop and then moved to the Shishinden.[99] Kajūji Haretoyo records in his diary that within a week of Eitoku's death in 1590, his eldest son, Kano Mitsunobu (1565–1608), assumed supervision of the paintings that remained to be done for Go-Yōzei's palace.[100] At the same time, Mitsunobu also assumed leadership of the Kano workshop.[101]



8 Chief Abbot's Quarters, Nanzenji, Kyoto.



9 Floor plan of the Chief Abbot's Quarters, Nanzenji, Kyoto.



10 Kano painter. *Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety*. Late 16th century. Detail of one sliding-door panel from a set; ink, colors and gold on paper. Each panel 184 x 98 cm. Now in the Ohiru-no-ma in the Chief Abbot's Quarters, Nanzenji, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety

While none of the Kano paintings created for Go-Yōzei's *dairi* are known with certainty to survive, there do still exist two segments of panel painting that originally stood within the contemporary *dairi* compound. These were apparently created by Kano artists around the time of Go-Yōzei's palace construction and sized to fill specific spaces within their respective complexes. Both segments were likely funded by the Toyotomi and their retainers, and overseen by a supervisor such as Maeda Gen'i. Although not stylistically identical, the two segments adhere to a Kano stylistic synthesis of *kanga* and *yamato-e*.

The two segments survive in a building now serving as the Chief Abbot's Quarters (Ōhōjō) of Nanzenji in Kyoto (figs. 8–9).[102] The Nanzenji Ōhōjō is widely acknowledged to have been originally constructed as part of a palace, but there are conflicting theories about which palace and what function it served there. It may have been built in 1585 or 1586 to serve as the Taimenjo audience suite of Ōgimachi's retirement palace, or in 1591 as the Seiryōden of Go-Yōzei's palace. In 1596 it was transformed into the residence of the newborn prince Go-Mizunoo. About 1601 it was remade into the residence of Go-Yōzei's mother, Shinjōtōmon'in. Finally in 1611 it was dismantled, moved, and incorporated into the Chief Abbot's Quarters of Nanzenji.[103]

The first segment preserved in the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters is installed in the Ohiru-no-ma—

moved with the building to the temple in 1611—and illustrates the Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety (*Nijūshikō*) and immortals (*sennin*; figs. 10–11). The second segment is found today in another room of the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters, the Narutaki-no-ma (figs. 12–13).[104] Originally made for public rooms in the palace of Shinjōtōmon'in, the Narutaki-no-ma panels feature Chinese court ladies and children. Both segments of painting from the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters were painted by Kano artists in the studio of Eitoku or his heir, Mitsunobu.[105]

The paintings from the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters offer us an opportunity to study aspects of the thematic choices made by warrior patrons for palace panels.[106] Nanzenji had suffered extensive damage during the Age of the Country at War, and leading military lords participated in its reconstruction in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1606 Toyotomi Hideyori, son of Hideyoshi, provided financial assistance for rebuilding the Main Hall (Hondō) of Nanzenji, and in 1611 Tokugawa Ieyasu saw to the establishment of the Chief Abbot's Quarters, using buildings that had originally stood within the *dairi* compound. Following an order from Ieyasu, laborers dismantled the palace structure and moved it to Nanzenji, to serve as the residential quarters of the temple's abbot, Ishin Sūden (1569–1633).[107] Sūden, a Rinzai Zen priest who had trained at Nanzenji and who became its abbot in 1605, served as a leading advisor to Ieyasu, and not surprisingly he was the beneficiary of Ieyasu's largesse.

The Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety and the immortals pictured in the panel paintings in the Ohiru-no-ma of the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters conform to a larger thematic category.[108] The Twenty-four Paragons are models of the Confucian virtue of filial piety, which comprehends social propriety. The immortals also embody Chinese values of ethical purity and at the same time often portray figures who take refuge in the wilderness from the troubles of a corrupt society. The detail from the Ohiru-no-ma panels reproduced in figure 11 captures a Chinese Immortal named Wang Ziqiao



11 Kano painter. *Wang Ziqiao* from *Immortals*. Late 16th century. Three sliding-door panels from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each panel 184 x 98 cm. Ohiru-no-ma, Chief Abbot's Quarters, Nanzenji, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.







12 Kano painter. *Chinese Court Ladies and Children.* Ca. 1601. Originally from the palace of Shinjōtōmon'in. Detail of one sliding-door panel from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Now in the Narutaki-no-ma in the Chief Abbot's Quarters of Nanzenji, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

(J: Ōshikyō), who supposedly left the world and ascended into the heavens on the back of a white crane.

As mentioned above, the Ohiru-no-ma panels of the Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety and immortals may have been created in the 1580s for the Taimenjo of Ōgimachi's retirement palace, or in the early 1590s for the Seiryōden of Go-Yōzei's palace; in either case, they were created for rooms serving formal and public purposes. The subject of these panels has a long history. As early as the Heian period, palace chambers meant for ceremonial or public purposes often featured wall paintings with Confucius, Laozi, and other Chinese paragons, as elaborated in Chapter 3. It seems that paintings of these subjects, especially Chinese paragons, continued to appear on the walls of the Kamakura- and Muromachi-period *dairi*. One example of documentary support for that supposition comes from a diary entry dated to 1510 by aristocrat Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) that mentions the painter Sōami (1485? –1525) being commissioned to paint images of Chinese paragons for the palace.[109] The Kano paintings of this theme at the late sixteenth-century palace thus correspond to one of the court traditions of panel painting.[110] They did not represent an entirely new Kano program to Sinicize *dairi* painting under military sponsorship.

For their part, military lords had been appropriating Chinese themes of virtue for several decades or longer, presumably in some cases at least borrowing from courtly precedents. At their castles, mansions, and sub-temples, warrior patrons commonly greeted visitors in formal spaces with panel paintings of Chinese figural themes that conveyed ideological messages. In the mid-sixteenth century Kano Motonobu, Eitoku's grandfather, had depicted images of Chinese paragons for the warrior lord Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–1587) in the audience chamber of Zuihōin, a subtemple of Daitokuji in Kyoto.[111] Bearers of Chinese ethical standards became increasingly popular as a theme in late sixteenth-century panel painting, presumably because China was an esteemed model and the paintings provided symbolic support to a new group of warrior lords who sought legitimacy and who sponsored the paintings. Perhaps the most famous Momoyama-period paintings of illustrious Chinese were those finished by Eitoku at Azuchi Castle for Oda Nobunaga.[112] Those Chinese figures were tropes of good government and an imagined world, a "utopia of the ruling elite."[113] Eitoku finished numerous paintings showing Chinese sages and immortals for halls at Azuchi Castle, which were destroyed with the castle in 1582.[114]



13 Kano painter. Chinese court ladies, detail of the same set of sliding-door panels as fig. 12.



14 Attributed to Kano Eitoku. *Cypress.* Late 16th century. Eight-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 170 x 461 cm. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo. National Treasure.

The full thematic range of paintings at Go-Yōzei's palace is unknown. While these paintings can be related to a group of themes by then traditional in the imperial palace and shogunal castles or mansions, new themes also began to appear around this time. Most apparent, perhaps, are the Twenty-four Paragons, a subject only recently arrived from China, most likely in the form of printed didactic texts. The subject had been known in China for some time; the Yuan-dynasty text *Ershisi xiaoxinglu* (Records of Filial Piety in Twenty-four Chapters; J: *Nijūshishō kōkōroku*) contains the stories of the Twenty-four Paragons. Stories of immortals such as Wang Ziqiao also had a political dimension. According to legend, Wang Ziqiao had served at court in ancient China, but was banished for criticizing the government. Having become an immortal, Wang Ziqiao accompanied the Queen Mother of the West in offering the throne to a man of virtue.[115] Wang's image in the quarters of retired Emperor Ōgimachi or Emperor Go-Yōzei can be understood, therefore, as symbolizing virtuous and legitimate imperial rule.

Furthermore, the Narutaki-no-ma of the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters also moved with the building to the temple in 1611 has sliding-door pan-



els that show Chinese court ladies and children in a flowering garden, a rare subject in extant panel painting. We know that the Narutaki-no-ma was created as a formal, public space in the palace of Go-Yōzei's mother, Shinjōtōmon'in, because the Narutaki-no-ma contains both an alcove (*tokonoma*) and a raised section of floor (*jōdan*), identifying markers for audience chambers. Art historian Chino Kaori has studied the panels from this room and has concluded that artistic advisors specified images from China because such images were understood as dignified and appropriate for public spaces, and they chose female figures with children because the original resident was a woman.[116] Paintings of Chinese male figures would not have been appropriate in Shinjōtōmon'in's space and Japanese figures would not have been considered appropriate either, as they were understood to be less formal.

For Chino, gendered associations such as these relate to a "dual binary structure" wherein the male is associated with the attributes of public/unified/Kara, whereas the female is associated with the attributes of private/diverse/Yamato.[117] Other scholars agree that palace panel painting was orchestrated to suit the rank and gender of the individual inhabiting the building, as well as the purpose to be served by the structure and its separate rooms.[118] For the public space of a high-ranking woman, a Chinese theme with female figures was the natural choice. Few interiors featured scenes of Chinese fe-



14a *Cypress*, detail of fig. 14.

male figures, however, because few women reached the level of influence of Shinjōtōmon'in. By the time that the room in question was painted for Shinjōtōmon'in, both her husband and her father-in-law had died, leaving her in a unique position to influence her son, Emperor Go-Yōzei, and thus making her a powerful woman.[119]

The four segments of painted panels highlighted here—two from the palace discussed above, along with two additional segments from an aristocratic estate described below—suggest the range of themes and styles of paintings made for the palace of the retired or reigning emperor. Each of these four segments was likely funded by warrior sponsors and painted by Kano artists, either at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. I describe the segments here as a way to introduce programs of palace painting—one of the main concerns of this book—and in the chapters that follow, I shall refer back to these segments for the sake of comparison.

Cypress

The second two segments of panel paintings produced by Kano artists during Go-Yōzei's reign, which are useful to consider in reconstructing the palace panels, derive from a shared site: the aristocratic residence built on Hideyoshi's order for Go-Yōzei's younger brother, the aforementioned Prince Kosamaru (i.e., Hachijōnomiya Toshihito). Both of these segments were originally on sliding panels and have been remounted on folding screens. One, which some scholars assign to the hand of Eitoku, is now a single eight-panel folding screen, *Cypress* (*Hinoki*), today in the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 14).[120] The other, which was probably painted by Eitoku or a follower, illustrates scenes from the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari-zu*; fig. 15).[121] This work is today mounted as a pair of six-panel folding screens in the Imperial Household Collection.

Scholars have concluded that the *Cypress* and the *Tale of Genji* screens were originally created as sections of panel painting for the residence of a newly designated aristocratic clan, the Hachijōnomiya family. This residence was constructed in 1590 on orders from Hideyoshi, as recompense for disinheriting his adopted son Toshihito (formerly Prince Kosamaru), already mentioned as the first of the Hachijōnomiya family line.[122] Both works are large in scale, and the evidence of previous door pulls indicates that both works were originally *fusuma* panels.[123] The cypress belongs to the same evergreen family as pines, a recurrent subject in large-scale paintings created for emperors and military lords; it once appeared in paintings in a Pine Tree Room (Matsu-no-ma) in the third story at Azuchi Castle, and it appears in two panels of the 1613 Shishinden paintings at the palace (fig. 32).[124] The massive, old tree in the screen conveys an assertive vitality, which explains the fame Eitoku achieved for his monumental style of painting. The tree expands in all directions, unconstrained by the boundaries of the composition. The thick, brown trunk bends at two right angles, sending out branches that contort and jut back upon themselves. Green foliage emerges with delicate and spritely energy from the tips of the cypress branches. Black brushwork conveys the rough surface of the bark, which is punctuated by tufts of moss.

Tale of Genji

The *Tale of Genji* screens, handed down by Toshihito's heirs in the Hachijōnomiya family, likely originated as panels in the Genji Room (Genji-no-ma) of Toshihito's residence.[125] The scenes are arranged left to right here; the left screen pictures the scene of "Peeping Tom" from chapter five, "Lavender," while the right screen has scenes from several chapters, including "Wild Carnations" and "The Drake Fly." The jewel-like colors and eye-catching patterns reflect a contemporary Kano version of early *yamato-e*, but the enlarged and simplified figures brought to the foreground of the pictorial space are in keeping with Kano Eitoku's later paintings, as well as works painted by artists of the Kano workshop in the decade after Eitoku's death.

Small-scale scenes from the *Tale of Genji* had been painted for centuries, and recently large-scale illustrations of Genji episodes had also come into favor. One large example by Tosa Mitsumochi







15 Attributed to Kano Eitoku. *Scenes from the Tale of Genji*. Late 16th century. Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 173 x 360.8 cm. Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.





15a Attributed to Kano Eitoku. *Scenes from the Tale of Genji*, detail of right screen.

(Mitsushige; ca. 1496–1559), director and chief artist of the Imperial Painting Bureau (*edokoro azukari*) in the mid-sixteenth century, is the *Clash of the Carriages* screens (*Kuruma arasoi-zu byōbu*), illustrating an undignified episode in the tale and painted for someone at the palace, presumably Emperor Ōgimachi.[126] The late sixteenth century seems to have seen a boom in Genji scenes painted on folding screens, a number of which survive.[127] Eitoku, too, likely produced such paintings; later documents tell of Oda Nobunaga presenting Genji screens by Eitoku in about 1574 to sweeten his relationship with his formidable rival, Uesugi Kenshin (1530–1578).[128]

At the outset of the early modern period the *Tale of Genji* and other Heian romantic narratives were still central to elite training in courtly literature. Emperor Go-Yōzei was himself a Genji scholar, a point that will be discussed further. It is no surprise, therefore, that the residence of Prince Toshihito featured Genji paintings. Courtiers were not the only members of elite society fascinated with the tale, however; men and women of military clans were, as well.

Two centuries earlier Ashikaga warrior lords, who presented themselves as scions of the Seiwa Genji clan, had employed Genji imagery. Paintings of the tale, along with other classics of *yamato-e*, were commissioned and collected by early Ashikaga shoguns seeking to appeal to aristocratic audiences, overwhelm rival military clans, and compete with a courtly legacy in Kyoto.[129] The third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) entertained a deep interest in the tale and related courtly literature. Yoshimitsu—who had invited Emperor Go-Komatsu to visit him at his Kitayama estate in 1408—likely aimed at usurping imperial prerogatives; like the emperors, he sponsored prayer gatherings to implore the heavens for peace and prosperity in the land, and he possibly even maneuvered to have his heir named monarch and his wife named mother of the monarch.[130] Yoshimitsu and other shoguns recognized the value of deploying courtly literature for worldly gain. Muromachi regional warrior lords and their retainers also used Genji images to enhance their status in exchanges with Kyoto aristocrats.[131]

Thus, the *Tale of Genji* had more than a wide and varied following; the theme was central to noble and warrior attempts to stake a claim to prestige and power. It is relevant to consider this thread in the Genji history given the site where the *Tale of Genji* panels under consideration were originally displayed: Toshihito's mansion, which although meant for a nobleman was sponsored by another aspiring military lord, Hideyoshi, who seems to have learned from Yoshimitsu's example.

After Toshihito's mansion was completed, between about 1610 and 1615, the prince established his villa-and-garden complex at Katsura. The site had formerly been the Katsuraden Villa of Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027), which was itself associated with episodes from the *Tale of Genji*. Toshihito based the design of Katsura estate on gardens described in the tale. In sum, while scholars have often characterized Momoyama- and early Edo-period fascination with the Genji narrative as a representative development in the Kan'ei-period (1624–1644) classical revival, keen interest in this Heian tale had persisted through the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

Only a few panel fragments and original documents survive from the late sixteenth-century palace and aristocratic villas sponsored by Hideyoshi, but from these few we can begin reconstructing the thematic character of their painted interiors. Later palace renovations for which paintings and records have survived also help us to enhance our understanding of the artists' decision-making process and to establish the relative standing of artists who created panel paintings. The leading painter on a project would complete most of the paintings in the main buildings of a compound, and he would design the compositions for other structures, which would be fleshed out by assistants according to their rank in the painting lineage and the importance of the chamber. This we know from a palace document written in the early seventeenth century, the *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe* (Memo on Orders Received about the Palace of the Emperor), which records how Kano Takanobu (son of Eitoku) pro-



16 Great Buddha Hall from *Scenes in and around the Capital*. Ca. 1629. Detail of pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 156.1 x 352.2 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York. Photograph by Bruce Schwarz (detail of fig. 5).

ceeded on Go-Mizunoo's palace in about 1613 (Ch. 3 will discuss this document in greater detail).[132] Artists seem to have been following that procedure at least since Eitoku's time and probably as early as Motonobu's. Therefore, even though the Kano paintings made for Go-Yōzei's palace do not survive, the panels from contemporary residences suggest what the palace interiors looked like and that Hideyoshi was indeed a generous patron of the court.

HIDEYOSHI POSTHUMOUSLY DEIFIED

Hideyoshi's magnanimous support of the imperial household was repaid when the warlord passed away at the age of 63 and Go-Yōzei, complying with a request from the Toyotomi family, elevated Hideyoshi to the status of a Shinto deity and a Buddhist avatar, conferring on him the posthumous name "Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country" (Toyokuni Daimyōjin, also read Hōkoku Daimyōjin).[133] The name Toyokuni Daimyōjin combined the first part of the Toyotomi family name (*toyo*) and a term used to refer to the land of Japan (*kuni*), and this suggested that, from a transcendent place in the afterlife, Hideyoshi's spirit would guard the country. The two terms appear in a line reading "Central land of the plentiful reed plains" (*Toyo ashihara no naka tsu kuni*) in the eighth-century *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters), which recounts the mythical origins of Japan and of the imperial family.[134]

In their attempt to preserve Toyotomi political supremacy, Hideyoshi's heirs requested that the emperor comply with Hideyoshi's dying wish that he be worshipped at a great shrine, in effect asking for his posthumous deification. The notion of a military lord assuming divine status was rare, but

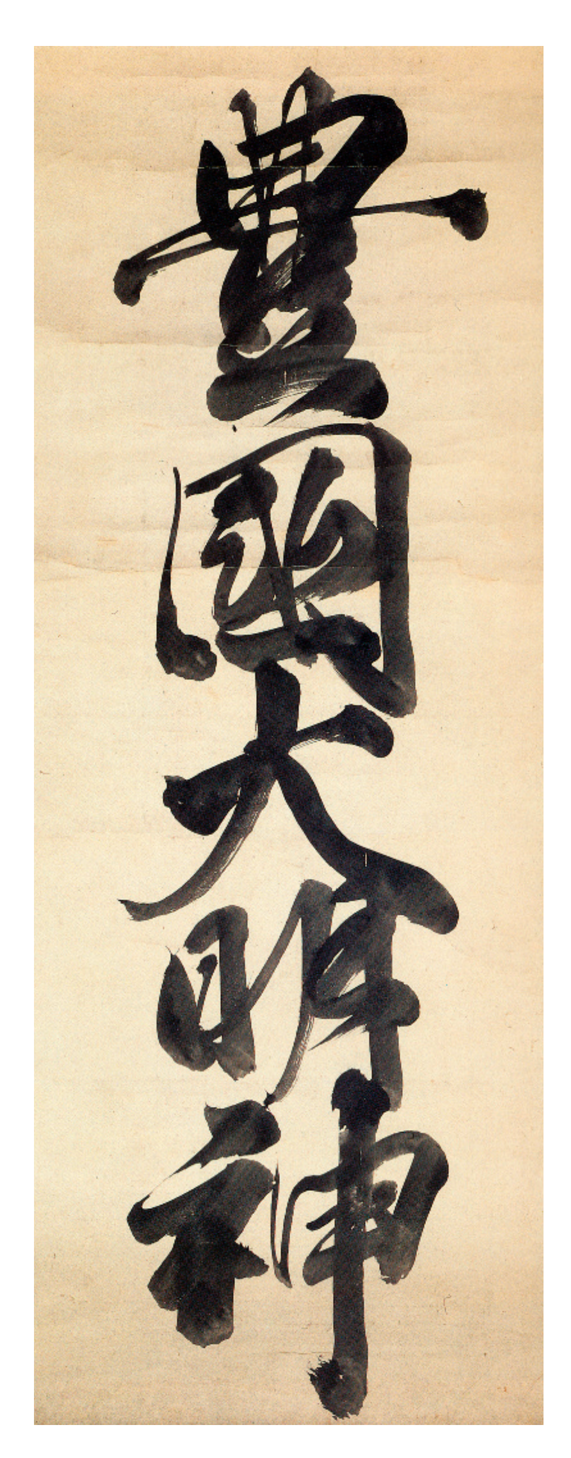


17 The imperial palace from *Scenes in and around the Capital*, detail of fig. 5.

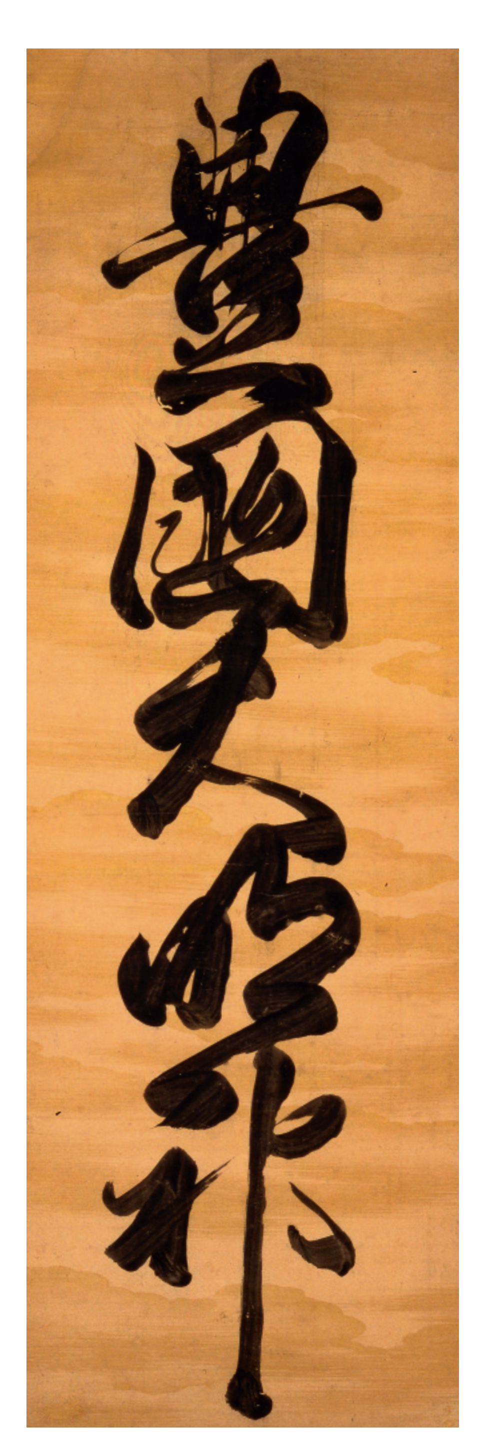
not new. Certain accounts hold that Hideyoshi's early military patron, Nobunaga, had also sought to elevate himself in this way.[135] Warrior lords who rose through the ranks with no strong claims to inheritance or pedigree recognized that credentials could be fashioned from thin air and elevation to divinity could be manufactured.

Why did Hideyoshi's heirs ask Go-Yōzei to deify Hideyoshi and what motivated the emperor to comply? Hideyoshi had consistently shown generosity and deference toward the court, while Go-Yōzei extended an aura of legitimacy and prestige to the upstart lord. More important still, though, had Go-Yōzei, as monarch, not been divine (or nearly divine), he could not have elevated Hideyoshi's spirit. By naming Hideyoshi a god, Go-Yōzei underscored his own divine ancestry and thus promoted the age-old imperial ideology.

A mortuary complex was constructed in memory of Hideyoshi: the Hōkoku Reibyō within the Shinto shrine of Toyokuni Jinja on the southeastern outskirts of Kyoto.[136] The Toyotomi called upon the populace to worship Hideyoshi's spirit here, next to the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden) in the sprawling compound of Hōkōji, which Hideyoshi had built in the 1580s and early 1590s. Neither the Great Buddha Hall of Hōkōji nor the adjoining Hōkoku Reibyō survives, but their monumental proportions are captured in a number of screens of *Scenes in and around the Capital*, including the pair of screens in the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation (fig. 16). Here, Hideyoshi's temple and mortuary compound dominate the far right side of the composition. Late Momoyama- and early Edo-period screens that show these—a number of which survive—attest to Hideyoshi's prodigious contributions to Kyoto architecture, as well as his blatant self-promotion. Illustrated at the left side of the right screen, directly across from Hideyoshi's temple and mortuary compounds, is the imperial palace (fig. 17). Traces of Hideyoshi's fleeting dominance of Kyoto are paired with images of the emperor's recovered place in the land.



18 Emperor Go-Yōzei. Calligraphy reading "Toyokuni Daimyōjin" (Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country), posthumous name of the deified Toyotomi Hideyoshi. 1599. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 58.8 x 19 cm. Kōdaiji, Kyoto.



19 Attributed to Emperor Go-Yōzei. Calligraphy reading "Toyokuni Daimyōjin" (Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country), posthumous name of the deified Toyotomi Hideyoshi. After 1599. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. Fukuoka City Art Museum, Fukuoka.

In the years immediately following the warlord's death, Toyotomi retainers expanded upon the Hideyoshi cult by constructing Toyokuni Shrines throughout the land and by sponsoring rites in commemoration of Hideyoshi's apotheosis.[137] Beyond naming Hideyoshi a god, Go-Yōzei also himself made large markers commemorating the warlord's apotheosis. The markers were calligraphic renderings on hanging scrolls or on wooden shrine tablets bearing the warrior lord's "divine name" (*shingō*).[138] Displayed around the country at Toyokuni Shrines and other sites dedicated to Hideyoshi, the calligraphic renderings proclaimed Hideyoshi's exalted status. One such hanging scroll with calligraphy by Go-Yōzei reading "Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country" is preserved at Kōdaiji and was likely created soon after the warlord's death. It bears an inscription added onto the scroll mounting in the ninth month of 1599 by Prince Dōchō (1534–1608) of Shōgoin, testifying when and by whom it was written (fig. 18).[139] Another *shingō* attributed to Go-Yōzei—now in the Fukuoka City Art Museum—may be slightly later in date (fig. 19). This piece derives from the collection of the Kuroda family, former supporters of the Toyotomi who eventually came to oversee the southern domain of Fukuoka.[140]

The warlord needing legitimation from the throne, and the emperors—first Ōgimachi and then Go-Yōzei—needing support from the warlord, felt mutually ambivalent.[141] Hideyoshi was cautious about entangling his interests with those of the court, and he did not always act in the court's interests. Like Nobunaga before him, Hideyoshi was determined to avoid the courtly tradition whereby military leaders only gained authority when an emperor bestowed it upon them. Yet much of the extensive interaction between the two sides appears to have been genuinely cordial.

Like the written records, artworks tell us a great deal about the unique relationship of simultaneous cooperation and competition between imperial and military leaders at the end of the Momoyama period, each aiming to promote their own goals. For the court leaders, there was some security even in the worst moments; no one tried to push them off the throne and no one apparently thought of usurpation. Now that things had begun to quiet down from the Age of the Country at War, warrior lords had time to think about the emperor, and those who had won the military and political struggles had ample funds to restore the imperial family. For someone as clever as Hideyoshi, it became obvious that allying himself with the emperor's symbolism was strategically a sound move. In addition to supporting the imperial household, Hideyoshi had managed to bring the majority of regional military lords under his control, thus progressing with unification and pacification of the realm. After his death in 1598, however, the power struggles and bloodshed resumed. By the dawn of the year 1600 the balance of power had become uncertain, and widespread military action was imminent.



2

Go-Yōzei's Imperial Imperative as Cultural Arbiter

In 1600 Emperor Go-Yōzei marked his fifteenth year on the throne, a thirty-year-old energetic monarch who had considerably raised the status of the court from its nadir of the previous century and a half. One of the countless ways in which the court traditionally expressed its prestige was by sponsoring forms of culture. Under Go-Yōzei these resumed in abundance, whether initiated by him, or for him by others. These projects gave rise to new currents in art that would continue through the seventeenth century under the direction of Emperor Go-Mizunoo, his son and successor. Analysis of Go-Yōzei's cultural projects reveals his objective: to revive and reassert an age-old imperial ideology, which held that emperors performed sanctified functions and ensured harmony in the land.

During the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century, it was unclear which clan, the Toyotomi or the Tokugawa, would ultimately dominate the land. Go-Yōzei encouraged both clans to support the court to the benefit of the imperial household. Within a year of the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, Tokugawa Ieyasu began initial moves to break his vow of allegiance to the Toyotomi. A year later Ieyasu's armies utterly defeated Toyotomi loyalists in the Battle of Sekigahara. And in the same year Go-Yōzei announced his desire to abdicate, apparently aggrieved that he had not received the political support requested from Ieyasu. As his successor, Go-Yōzei favored his younger brother, Kosamaru (Hachijōnomiya Toshihito), the very prince whom Hideyoshi had adopted and then disinherited some years earlier. By this time Go-Yōzei had several sons—including Kakujin (1588–1648), Jōkai (Kōshō; 1591–1609), and Kotohito (the future Emperor Go-Mizunoo)—but they were still young, and Go-Yōzei's choice of his younger brother as successor was probably not unexpected.

Kano Takanobu. *Portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei*, detail of fig. 28.

Military leaders and the ranking nobility alike rejected Go-Yōzei's decision to abdicate.[1] Acceding to their wishes, Go-Yōzei remained as emperor for another eleven years, serving a total of twenty five years, nearly as long as his predecessor who had served for almost thirty years. Presumably, Go-Yōzei had hoped to abdicate in order to rule as retired emperor; in other words, he had intended to revive the system of "cloistered emperor" (*insei*).[2] The *insei* system, in which an abdicated emperor took the tonsure and lived in assumed retirement ruling from behind the scenes, had been initiated by Emperor Shirakawa in the eleventh century as a way to restore the economic substance and political influence of the imperial family. From the early twelfth century monarchs were commonly enthroned at a very young age, and stepped down before reaching adulthood, all the while with an older *insei* in control of affairs.[3] This practice had continued for nearly two hundred years. A revival of the *insei* system would have been a bold move toward reasserting imperial authority. Yet, though foiled in his proposal to retire, Go-Yōzei was a seasoned

politician and a calculating political player, successful not only at restoring a level of prosperity to the court and making access to elite culture one of the many purviews of aristocrats, but also at augmenting imperial prestige.

This chapter considers the imperial side of the emperor-warlord relationship during the final years of Go-Yōzei's reign, from 1600 to 1611, as Ieyasu was patiently consolidating his power and the Toyotomi heir, Hideyori, was maturing to adulthood. It elucidates how Go-Yōzei bolstered his hereditary position, as he augmented the symbolic and cultural status of the imperial institution.

One asset already recurring to Go-Yōzei's court was its cultural prestige. That prestige was enhanced by the noble families who specialized in various forms of courtly art and literature. The complexly codified principles of these cultural forms were, quite literally, secret, handed down from father to son; to be privy to these rules conferred exceptional cachet. Other courtly traditions were similarly passed down from the "master" only to a chosen disciple, usually a member of the aristocracy, but on rare occasion to a warrior. Men of the sword realized that knowledge of courtly traditions elevated them in the eyes of their peers. For centuries—even through the late Muromachi period when the court was impoverished—warrior lords acknowledged that training in courtly arts gave them social advantage in cultural settings over their military rivals. Accordingly, members of aristocratic society competed not only amongst themselves but also with elites from warrior clans to represent the well-educated, cultivated, and refined.

Even the language of the court was exceptional in its complicated structure and levels of politesse, conveying in and of itself the venerability of the imperial institution. European visitors, who had begun appearing in Kyoto in the previous half century, often recorded the customs that Japanese commentators took for granted, including the refinement of traditional court language. According to João Rodrigues Tçuzzu (1561–1633; in Japan 1577–1610), a Jesuit missionary who served as an interpreter for Hideyoshi, "the language is the best preserved [among the Kyoto nobility]."[4] Within court society, it was the monarch who was expected to uphold the highest standards of cultivated speech, and that required him to train tirelessly, as did his scholarly pursuits. Early in life Go-Yōzei's father and grandfather had instructed him in literary traditions, and later, leading specialists of courtly arts and etiquette served as his tutors.

Under Go-Yōzei's leadership the court reasserted its unique symbolic and religious significance. The sacred role of the court was not always communicated directly to the populace; often, it was demonstrated through interactions with warrior lords. During the interval between the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 and the Battle of Osaka Castle in 1615—as uncertainty and intrigue flourished—Go-Yōzei compelled palace life to remain sedate and adhere to conservative norms. In addition to enforcing strict rules of protocol amongst the courtiers, he strived to set a personal example by devoting considerable time to his imperial duties overseeing ceremonial, religious, and cultural activities to an even greater extent than had his immediate predecessors.[5]

PRINTED BOOKS AND NOTIONS OF IMPERIAL AUTHORITY

Perhaps Go-Yōzei's most frequently cited cultural contribution was his sponsorship of printed books, whose titles indicate his interest in promoting learning and literacy among the nobility, as well as his intention to be cultural leader at court and enhance notions of imperial authority. Although printed books are not always categorized as artworks, they are significant to visual culture broadly defined, and they also influenced art as narrowly defined; I therefore include them in this discussion. Go-Yōzei's sponsorship of typographical projects—featuring movable-type printing—occurred at an early stage of the expansion of print culture.[6] The technology of metal movable-type printing had reached Japan in the mid-sixteenth century by way of European Jesuits and enjoyed a short efflores-



國常立尊次國狭槌
尊次豊斟渟尊凡三神矣乾道獨化所以成
此純男
一書曰天地初判一物在於虚中狀貌
難言其中自有化生之神號國常立尊
亦曰國底立尊次國狭槌尊亦曰國狭
立尊次豊國主尊亦曰豊組野尊亦曰
豊香節野尊亦曰浮經野豊買尊亦曰
豊國野尊亦曰豊齧野尊亦曰葉木國
野尊亦曰見野尊
一書曰古國稚地稚之時譬猶浮膏而
漂蕩于時國中生物狀如葦牙之抽出
也因此有化生之神號可美葦牙彦舅
尊次國常立尊次國狭槌尊葉木國此
云播擧矩爾可美此云于麻時
一書曰天地混成之時始有神人焉號

20 Front two-page spread from the *Jindai no maki* (Age of the *Kami* section) of the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) from the Keichō Imperial Editions. Keichō era (1596–1615). Book with wood-carved moveable type. Kunaichō Shoryōbu.



國常立尊次國狭槌
尊次豊斟渟尊凡三神矣乾道獨化所以成
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亦曰國底立尊次國狭槌尊亦曰國狭
立尊次豊國主尊亦曰豊組野尊亦曰
豊香節野尊亦曰浮經野豊買尊亦曰
豊國野尊亦曰豊齧野尊亦曰葉木國
野尊亦曰見野尊
一書曰古國稚地稚之時譬猶浮膏而
漂蕩于時國中生物狀如葦牙之抽出
也因此有化生之神號可美葦牙彦舅
尊次國常立尊次國狭槌尊葉木國此
云播擧矩爾可美此云于麻時
一書曰天地混成之時始有神人焉號

21 Two-page spread from the same volume as above.

cence.[7] About 1596 Toyotomi Hideyoshi gave Go-Yōzei a set of metal movable type that his soldiers had brought back from the invasion of Korea. Other institutions, notably certain leading Buddhist temples, were already established centers of text reproduction. The emperor, though, seems to have shown a particular interest in print technologies, and Hideyoshi likely saw the gift as one more gesture of his support for the court. Later, at Go-Yōzei's order, workmen between 1597 and 1602 created a wooden type set. In 1606 the emperor received another set of metal fonts consisting of thousands of type pieces.[8]

The first book that Go-Yōzei ordered printed was a standard of the Confucian canon, the ancient Chinese *Xiao jing* (Classic of Filial Piety; J: *Kobun kōkyō*); unfortunately, no copies survive. Although this treatise had long been studied by members of literate society in Japan, including many court scholars, Go-Yōzei's commission of the 1593 *Xiao jing* was the first Japanese edition in print.[9] Go-Yōzei's choice was predictable: the *Xiao jing* was a standard literary primer, but it advocated rules of conduct meant to ensure a harmonious and secure social order, rules that emperors had claimed as their philosophical base for centuries both in China and Japan. Chinese and Japanese emperors had commissioned calligraphic copies of it on numerous occasions.[10] More specifically, the *Xiao jing* prescribes filiality among people of all social levels from the emperor and princes to officials and commoners, and perhaps most important to Go-Yōzei was its underlying assumption that an ideal society adheres to a hierarchical structure with the Son of Heaven at its summit.[11]

Go-Yōzei followed his 1593 printing of the *Xiao jing* with sponsorship of a major literary project, the Keichō Imperial Editions (*Keichō chokuhan*; figs. 20–21). A series of Chinese and Japanese classics, the Keichō Imperial Editions were printed with wood-carved movable type in the Keichō era (1596–1615).[12] With their high quality paper and their comparatively large typeface, the Keichō Imperial Editions have been characterized as "among the finest unillustrated books ever produced in Japan."[13] Go-Yōzei's selection of texts for his series of printed books suggests that they were more than a subject of personal interest; they were politically valuable. Similarly, warrior leaders published their own series, apparently inspired by the Keichō Imperial Editions. Soon after Go-Yōzei launched his project, for example, Hideyoshi initiated a comparable printing program, as would Tokugawa Ieyasu a few years later.[14] A number of the titles selected by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu for reproduction proved use-

ful in justifying their right to govern, indicating that warlords recognized the ideological value of such projects.

One set of texts in the Keichō Imperial Editions is the *Si shu* (Four Books; J: *Shisho*), acclaimed as classics of Chinese ethical and political philosophy. This was Japan's first printed *Si shu*, four separate texts assembled as a set by the Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130–1200) for their ideas of virtuous government. The set includes the *Daxue* (Great Learning; J: *Daigaku*), the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean; J: *Chūyō*), the *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius; J: *Rongo*), and the *Mengzi* (Mencius; J: *Mōshi*). The *Daxue* speaks of a connection between self-cultivation, good government, and the investigation of things; the *Zhongyong* provides instructions for upholding the Mandate of Heaven; the *Lunyu* transcribes discussions between Confucius and his disciples; and the *Mengzi* records exchanges between Mencius and contemporaneous rulers, aimed at restoring innate morality in people at all levels.

Go-Yōzei's selection of the *Si shu* for the Keichō Imperial Editions is especially significant as it constituted the scholastic core of the Chinese civil service exam during the Ming period (1368–1644), and by adopting the recent educational standards of the Chinese government, Go-Yōzei presumably intended to raise the ethics and professionalism of his own court bureaucracy. Go-Yōzei's Keichō Imperial Editions included, therefore, a number of Chinese texts with valuable ideological messages, and with it he bolstered a notion of the court as the fountainhead of scholarship. In keeping with traditional expectations of males in the imperial family, Go-Yōzei had spent hours studying with specialists, including the renowned scholar of Chinese classics Funabashi Hidekata (1575–1614). Go-Yōzei's studies included lessons on the *Xiao jing* and related Confucian texts.

Confucian learning had been esteemed at the imperial court since it was introduced in the sixth century. At court specialists in an academy of higher learning (*daigakuryō*) had prepared princes and noblemen for government service using hand-copied texts of the Confucian classics. Court observances, such as annual banquets complemented by poetic performances, followed Confucian concepts and coordinated human activity with the processes of heaven, thus revealing the virtue of the emperor and legitimating his authority. In the Heian period, paintings of Confucius and his disciples had been hung in the court's academy of higher learning, and paintings in ceremonial or public rooms of the palace referred to Chinese ethical and political traditions, as explained in the previous chapter.

In the Muromachi period, Neo-Confucian thought was introduced by Chan monks newly arrived from China, as well by Japanese monks on return from studying in China. Emperors summoned monks learned in Neo-Confucianism to the court to lecture just as the Ashikaga shoguns had done at their administrative headquarters. Zen monks studied Neo-Confucianism as one of several Chinese philosophical traditions. Thus, even though Buddhism tended to hold a significant place at court, certain emperors favored Neo-Confucian thought. Perhaps most notable was Emperor Go-Daigo, who turned to Neo-Confucian texts in the fourteenth century as a justification for his attempted imperial restoration. Under Go-Daigo and other monarchs, the court retained its important role in the study of Chinese tracts on politics and morals.

Interest in Neo-Confucianism gained special momentum from the 1590s on, after warriors under Hideyoshi's command returned from the Korean campaigns with printed texts produced in China and Korea. Before long the Tokugawa shoguns began taking on Neo-Confucian specialists as advisors; however, they did not establish Neo-Confucianism as an official ideology at the beginning of the Edo period, as we sometimes read in modern scholarship. This misconception results in part from the writings of Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), the leading Neo-Confucian scholar of the era. Early Tokugawa shoguns and advisors realized that scholars such as Razan, who were trained in Neo-Confucian classics on the art of government, were highly effective as advocates of Tokugawa legitimacy, but the Hayashi academy was not an official voice for the Tokugawa in the seventeenth century.[15] The

Hayashi and other Tokugawa ideologues interpreted Chinese teachings loosely, revising the teachings to suggest that the imperial line had lost its way and warrior rule was justified.[16] Orthodox Neo-Confucians, however, would have rejected both the shogun and the emperor as legitimate rulers (i.e., those holding the Mandate of Heaven) due to the limitations on their respective authority.[17]

In addition to Chinese texts, Go-Yōzei selected volumes for the Keichō Imperial Editions that had been written or at least assembled in Japan, such as the *Kangakubun* (Writings on the Encouragement of Learning) and the *Shokugenshō* (Selections of Original Ranks). The *Shokugenshō* is a listing of court offices and titles compiled by the fourteenth-century nobleman and general Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), a renowned supporter of imperial restoration in the era of Emperor Go-Daigo.

Also assembled in Japan and selected by Go-Yōzei for the Keichō Imperial Editions was the *Jindai no maki* (Chapters on the Age of the *Kami*; figs. 20–21).[18] This volume consists of the first two chapters of the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), compiled in 720 on imperial order with a Japanese worldview. The *Nihon shoki*, one of the oldest commentaries written in Japan, recounts an early version of the country's mythic origins. Like other chapters in the *Nihon shoki*, the *Jindai no maki* asserts that Japan is a divine land, which explains why the text has been revered as Shinto scripture.[19] The opening section of the *Jindai no maki* narrates the story of the creation of the world and the founding of Japan. It speaks of the descent from heaven of Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami (also read Tenshō Kōtaijin), and the establishment of his descendants as rulers of the realm. The *Jindai no maki* compares the religio-philosophical life of Japan to a tree that has Shinto as its trunk, Confucianism as its branches, and Buddhism as its fruit. The text thus claims a central place in Japanese spiritual life for Shinto, as well as an essential role for the emperor in ensuring the blessings of native divinities.[20]

Encouraging reverence for the emperor was a main theme of a number of texts in the Keichō Imperial Editions, whether in Chinese Confucian standards such as the *Xiao jing* and the *Si shu*, or Japanese exegeses such as the *Jindai no maki*. Yet another printed text in the Keichō Imperial Editions—the *Chōgonka narabini biwakō* (Song of Unending Sorrow and the Lute Song)—conveys a somewhat different perspective on imperial politics and history.[21] It was composed by a leading Muromachi-period scholar, Kiyohara Nobutaka (1475–1550), as Japanese annotations to a Chinese literary classic, *Chang hen ge* (The Song of Unending Sorrow; J: *Chōgonka*), by Bai Juyi (J: Haku Rakuten; 772–846).[22]

The *Song of Unending Sorrow* is a tale in verse of the Tang-dynasty emperor Xuanzong (J: Gensō; 685–762) and his concubine, the legendary court beauty Yang Guifei (J: Yōkihi; 719–756). Praised by educated courtiers since the Heian period, its theme is the downfall of an emperor.[23] *Chang hen ge* supposedly inspired the author of the *Tale of Genji*, Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 973? –1014?), who refers to it several times in her narrative. In her diary, Murasaki even comments that she had been reading passages of it to the empress.[24] Yang Guifei, although portrayed as somewhat of a victim in the *Chang hen ge*, came to be seen by some in Japan as an even more sympathetic character.[25] Like certain female characters in the Genji tale, she was essentially considered a tragic heroine, and Japanese readers may have appreciated the *Song of Unending Sorrow* as a Chinese analogue to the *Tale of Genji*.

While most of the texts printed in the Keichō Imperial Editions offer prescriptions for good government and accordingly would have shed a positive light on imperial rulers, the *Song of Unending Sorrow* was perhaps understood originally as a cautionary tale for rulers. Go-Yōzei, as part of his ongoing project to restore propriety to the court, may have ordered the printing of the Xuanzong-Yang Guifei story in part as a warning to the nobility against decadence.[26] The theme appears to have been multivalent, however, for there was yet another dimension to the Japanese reception of the *Song of Unending Sorrow*. In the popular lore of medieval Japan, Yang Guifei was portrayed as a Japanese

goddess, whose appearance was all part of a divine plan to cause the downfall of the Tang dynasty.[27] The story of Yang Guifei was recast in Muromachi- and Momoyama-period accounts, responding at least in part to a Japanese desire to emulate, even surpass China.[28]

The theme regained popularity just as Hideyoshi was launching his attacks on the Asian continent, aiming to conquer China, which leads one to conclude that early modern Japanese audiences appreciated the *Song of Unending Sorrow* for new reasons.[29] More specifically, some among the Japanese elite of that time must have read the story of Xuanzong's fall to mean that Chinese monarchs were corrupt and weak, that Yang Guifei served a divine purpose, and that the Japanese emperor deserved to sit on the throne of China, which Hideyoshi had stated as his primary motive for invading the mainland.

About this time artists also turned repeatedly to the Xuanzong-Yang Guifei story. Although earlier painters had represented the theme, it began appearing more frequently in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[30] A number of paintings based on the *Song of Unending Sorrow* survive, today identified by Japanese art historians as a subcategory of genre painting known as "illustrations of pleasures of the palace" (*kyūraku-zu*).[31] In fact, this pictorial category was a specialty of Kano painters during the maturity of Kano Takanobu (1571–1618), the leading painter at Go-Yōzei's court from the late 1590s, and perhaps earlier.[32]

Thus Go-Yōzei's selection of texts for the Keichō Imperial Editions was motivated by concerns beyond narrow, antiquarian interest. The printing projects of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu included some of the same volumes, presumably selected for their political value. Although the warrior lords' printing projects gained greater fame than Go-Yōzei's Keichō Imperial Editions, several volumes in the emperor's series were the first versions printed in Japan. Thus, Go-Yōzei's leadership in print production contributed significantly, not only to reviving the imperial institution, but also to early modern culture more broadly defined.

THE EMPEROR AND POETIC TRADITIONS

Among the aristocratic cultural forms sponsored by Go-Yōzei were many literary genres that transmitted an ancient belief in the legitimate authority and sacred responsibility of the emperor. Court literary forms included several varieties of poetry, notably thirty-one-syllable poems (*waka*), linked verse (*renga*), and Sino-Japanese linked verse (*wakan renku*). Go-Yōzei transcribed poems on hanging scrolls (*kakemono*), square sheets of paper (*shikishi*), and long, narrow strips of paper (*tanzaku*).[33] Not only did he compose and transcribe poems, Go-Yōzei also edited several volumes of verse and wrote commentaries on compilations such as the *Hyakunin isshu* (One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each Collection), edited by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241).[34] Literary gatherings with his courtiers were a favored leisure activity and forged a shared sense of prestige, which derived ultimately from the monarch and from the courtiers' position as his supporters.

Waka, a short verse form with syllabic count of 5-7-5-7-7, had been canonical for centuries for its subtlety of phrasing and suggestiveness of imagery, as well as its association with the imperial salon, thus linking aesthetic and social qualities. It was the paramount verse form of the court, and an inheritance vital to notions of the emperor's sacredness. In early eras poetry had been an integral element of sacred ritual and was thought to contain "word spirit" (*kotodama*), uniting humans with the divine, and it had not ceased to hint at religious and metaphysical meanings.[35] Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 872–945), compiler of the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Kokinshū* (Poems of Ancient and Modern Times), had declared: "Poetry is that which, all by itself, moves heaven and earth and calms the hearts of the invisible spirits and deities, which ties men and women, and which can comfort the hearts of fierce warriors."[36] According to one theory of *waka*, which relates to Esoteric Buddhism, verses were sacred incantations in Japanese, comparable to prayers in the ancient Sanskrit of Buddhist litur-

gy.[37] Many eminent *waka* poets were themselves Esoteric Buddhist monks, and court poets conveyed their poetic knowledge to initiates in rites patterned after the Esoteric ordination ritual (J: *kanjō*; S: *abhişeka*).[38]

Early aristocrats also recognized political motives for creating *waka*.[39] Following precedents set by Chinese literati, early court poets responded to Confucian calls to compose verses that encouraged virtue and praised the imperial reign. Natural beauty, a perennial theme of *waka*, had long been attributed to the righteousness of the emperor and understood as a blessing from Heaven in response to legitimate and just imperial rule. Therefore, verses celebrating Japan's landscapes were often made as offerings to the monarch, and as such, capable of augmenting his authority.[40] In the early modern period the religious and political aspects of *waka* were still intertwined, which undoubtedly contributed to monarchs' interest in *waka*. Emperors bolstered their inherited prestige by compiling anthologies and participating in *waka* parties. When they composed a verse, recited it, and then put brush to paper to record it, the emperors enacted a time-honored tradition.

The special meanings conveyed by *waka* were preserved in part by the exclusivity of access to court poetic traditions. Although poetic training was a requisite part of an aristocratic education, only a select group of courtiers might culminate years of study by being chosen to receive the "secret transmissions" (*hiden*) passed down through the ages, which included definitions of arcane vocabulary, rules of composition, and commentaries.

Various arts and performance organizations had for some time adhered to the practice of private transmission of knowledge within the group, including at court.[41] Training preserved by two court families provided instruction in secret literary transmission, including commentaries on the *Kokinshū*. These commentaries had long been passed from master to student and were considered of utmost importance to aristocratic culture.[42]

While most great *waka* poets were courtiers, a number of military men trained in the art as well. Toyotomi Hideyoshi frequently hosted *waka* parties, perhaps the most famous of which was the *waka*-writing session at the 1598 Daigo Flower Viewing.[43] Hideyoshi's secretarial attendant and literary advisor, Ōmura Yūko, noted with much approbation that his lord was dedicated to the composition of *waka* and brought "peace to his kingdom through a skillful management of words."[44]

There was one warrior who truly excelled at *waka*: Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610), Go-Yōzei's poetry instructor. At one point Yūsai was the only one living to have received transmission of teachings on the *Kokinshū*. Preservation of the secret transmission was threatened during the summer of 1600, when Yūsai and his army were besieged at Tanabe Castle. There Yūsai had in his possession a number of precious documents, including commentaries on the *Kokinshū*. Fearing that the teachings would be lost if Yūsai were killed and his castle were destroyed, Go-Yōzei sent aristocratic envoys to the castle to receive transmission. The siege was lifted, and the documents were brought to Kyoto for safe-keeping with two noblemen, Hachijōnomiya Toshihito and Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, ensuring that the poetic legacy would not be entirely lost even if Yūsai were to later die in battle.[45] Having withstood the siege, Yūsai passed the secret transmission on to a number of students at court, including Toshihito and Mitsuhiro.

In the seventeenth century the number of individuals seeking to enhance their social status through contact with classical courtly culture increased, and interest in *waka* continued to spread beyond aristocratic circles. Literary invention based on *waka* had been known earlier, but now it blossomed, and the exclusivity of *waka* waned. Although until this point classical poetry was closely superintended by a core group of artistocrats and linked to the internal practices of the court, now noblemen began increasing their depleted incomes by teaching this and other secret literary traditions of the court.[46] The advent of print culture also prompted the spread of *waka*. People from many walks of life were able to purchase printed texts, including, for example, Hosokawa Yūsai's 1596 commentary on

the thirteenth-century *Hyakunin isshu*, issued in print in 1631.[47] Before long, participants in popular poetry circles were practicing other literary forms based on court verse, notably the short poetic form of "playful linked verse" (*haikai no renga*).

CALLIGRAPHY FROM THE IMPERIAL HAND

Go-Yōzei contributed to another significant form of courtly art, calligraphy. Like many emperors before him, he developed notable script styles that interacted with the text to convey his sophistication and his intentions as emperor. Go-Yōzei's grandfather Emperor Ōgimachi, who had overseen his education, directed him to study the calligraphy of earlier emperors. Instructions on calligraphy that Ōgimachi prepared for his grandson advised the young emperor to "learn how to write the *chokuhitsu-yō* (style of imperial calligraphy)."[48] In a letter preserved in the Imperial Household Collection, Ōgimachi recommended that Go-Yōzei look to the calligraphy of thirteenth-century Emperor Fushimi—whose work provided inspiration for later emperors and aristocrats alike—"as a model for practice and more practice and more practice."[49]

Just as courtiers had long relied on calligraphy to express their elite aristocratic heritage, emperors could similarly convey their position as leaders of the court. Several centuries earlier it became customary for heirs to the throne to develop an identifiable personal style that might convey their official personae. Like monarchs of previous generations, Go-Yōzei was expected to master and preserve the traditions of imperial calligraphy (*shinkan*). Beyond simply being respected as a man of letters and master scribe, however, he and earlier emperors recognized that their calligraphic pieces would be venerated as objects with inherent significance, even with talismanic potential.[50]

Go-Yōzei's calligraphy shows clear signs of his understanding the aristocratic inheritance of calligraphy and his training in imperial models, as well as a strong sense of his versatility, exuberance, and individuality. In extant calligraphic works by the emperor we encounter a range of manners, from dignified and elegantly modulated Chinese characters (*kanji*) used in formal inscriptions and official documents to fluidly brushed Japanese syllabary (*kana*) in poetry scrolls and personal correspondence (figs. 18–19, 22–24).[51] In the document relating to promotion in princely and imperial consort ranks (*shinnō jugō zaji sōron no koto*) of 1615, Go-Yōzei dashed off a list of courtly appointments in *kanji* that displays the alacrity of a confident administrator.[52] In writing poem scrolls, he brushed the title with semicursive Chinese characters, followed by abbreviated and spidery script for the native-style verse.

A memorable example of Go-Yōzei's calligraphy is the pair of hanging scrolls bearing "one-line sayings" (*ichigyō sho*) in the collection of Hōkongōin in Kyoto (fig. 22). On each scroll Go-Yōzei inscribed two large Chinese characters: "Dragon and Tiger" (*Ryū ko*) on the one at right, and "Plum and Bamboo" (*Bai chiku*) on the one at left. The unhesitating dash of the brush conveys Go-Yōzei's strength of character and sense of authority as emperor. In "Dragon and Tiger" Go-Yōzei refers to the ancient Chinese symbolism of a dragon ruling the heavens and a tiger ruling the earth. Dragons and tigers also appealed to Momoyama-period warlords as symbols of heroism and as creatures said to ensure proper order in the universe. Both creatures appeared not only on imperial robes and implements, but also on many Momoyama-period castle walls.[53] In these various contexts, the images referred to Confucian notions of correct relations between leaders and their ministers. Plum and bamboo symbolize two qualities considered essential to an effective sovereign: endurance and flexibility. The plum, as the first tree to blossom early each spring, suggests an ability to endure the cold and harshness of lingering winter. Bamboo, which bends without breaking, represents flexibility and the capacity to adapt to extreme conditions. These images too were among the repertoire of symbols of both noble and warrior leaders.[54]

Several more times Go-Yōzei brushed these paired characters, "Dragon and Tiger" and "Plum





22 Emperor Go-Yōzei. Calligraphy reading "*Ryū ko*" (Dragon and Tiger) and "*Bai chiku*" (Plum and Bamboo). Late 16th–early 17th century. Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper. Each scroll 125 x 51.4 cm. Hōkongōin, Kyoto.

and Bamboo," together or separately, suggesting his appreciation of their implications.[55] Exactly who these inscriptions were intended for is difficult to reconstruct, and without additional information about the context in which they were made or viewed, it is impossible to interpret their significance. One of Go-Yōzei's "Dragon and Tiger" scrolls is preserved in the collection of the old aristocratic Reizei family, however, and it might have entered that family's collection during Go-Yōzei's lifetime, perhaps even as a gift from the monarch. If so, we would be witnessing once again, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, symbols that reflected both a warrior and an aristocratic ethos.

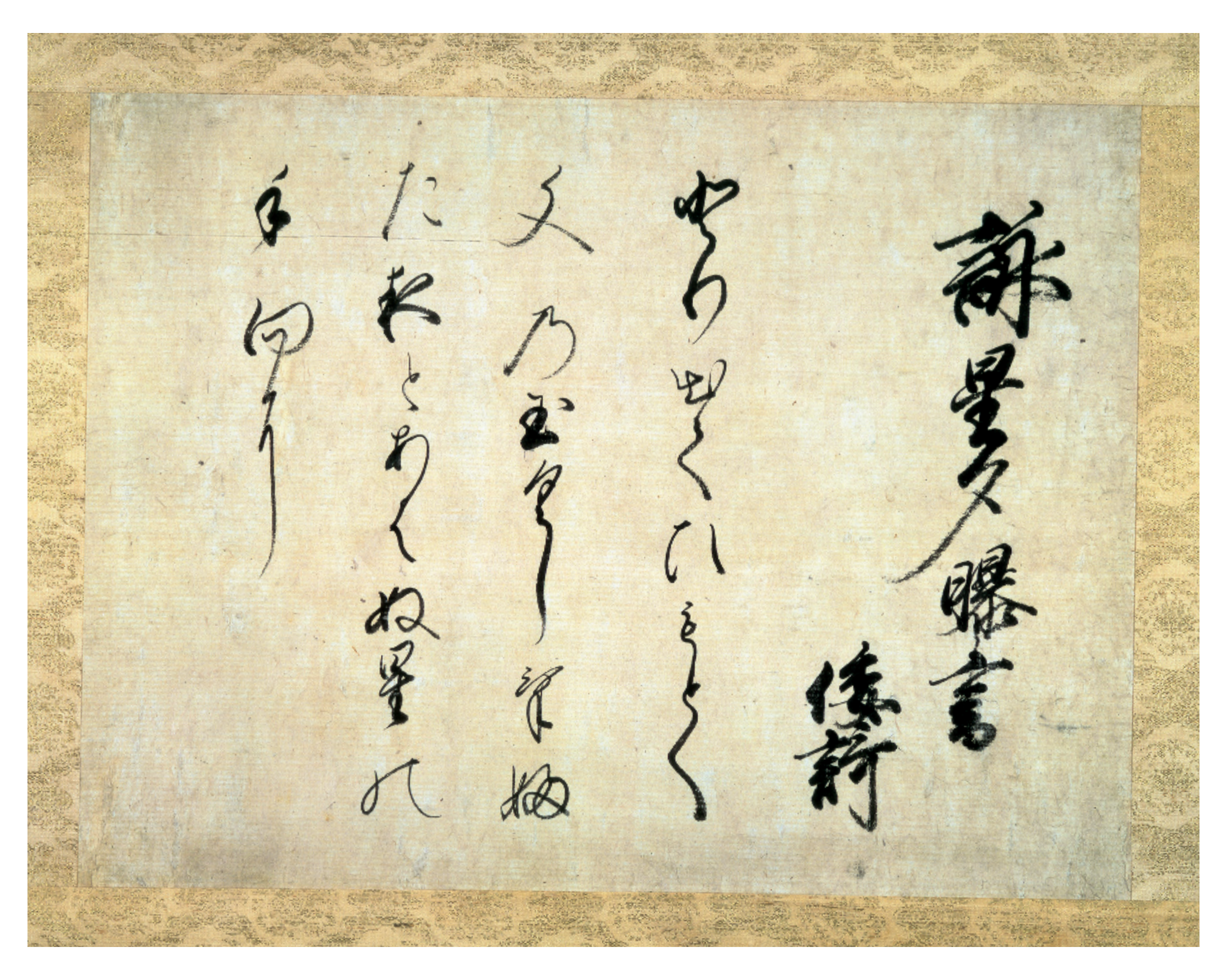
Another noteworthy example of calligraphy attributed to Go-Yōzei is the group of verses inscribed on a set of shrine plaques (*hengaku*) bearing paintings of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets (*Sanjūrokkasen-zu*) by Kano Sōshū (1551–1601), which are preserved at Hōkōji in Kyoto.[56] These verses are brushed in *man'yōgana*, a comparatively archaic manner of writing in which Chinese characters are used as phonetic symbols and are written either in standard script (*kaishō*) or in running script (*gyōsho*). The Thirty-six Immortal Poets theme has religious implications employed for political purposes. The Immortal Poets (*Kasen*)—courtly icons of poetry—had long been a refined subject of illustration, but the theme was increasingly considered sacred, as Hideyoshi, Ieyasu, and other military lords ordered Immortal Poet images for enshrinement at religious sites.[57] The military lords, apparently wanting to parade their knowledge and refinement, commissioned artists to produce sets of plaques with the Thirty-six Immortal Poets, and they asked courtiers to inscribe the accompanying verses on the plaques. Sets of finished plaques were placed in the open for visitors to see at shrines across the country. Thus, while warlords aimed to enhance their prestige by commissioning shrine plaques with revered figures of courtly tradition, aristocrats bolstered their own status, and perhaps their incomes as well, by participating in these warrior-sponsored projects.

Some of Go-Yōzei's poem inscriptions relate to traditions unique to the court. A short verse composed by the emperor at the time of the Star Festival (*Tanabata*) in 1601, the poem on the theme of airing books, reveals Go-Yōzei's high regard for restoring the court's antique calendar of annual ceremonies (*nenjū gyōji*), including Tanabata (fig. 23). With only a few lines composed and brushed by Go-Yōzei, this *waka kaishi* (*waka* inscribed on paper "kept at the breast" for informal writing) presents several unique aspects of the aristocratic literary heritage. An original version of the poem survives in the Imperial Household Collection mounted as a hanging scroll. It reads:

Toriidete	We unfasten the chest
himotoku fumi no	Of books and
tamakushige	Offer this gift
futayo to awanu	To the stars who meet
hoshi no tamuke ni	Only tonight.[58]

Go-Yōzei used an arrangement common to *waka kaishi* known as "three columns plus three characters" (*sangyō sanji*); each of the first three columns of the poem has eight characters and the fourth column has three. At right, preceding the poem he used semi-cursive script to inscribe the poetic topic: "airing books on a starlit night."

Observed on the seventh night of the seventh month, the Star Festival marked the reunion of the star Vega (in Japan identified as the Weaver Maiden) and her husband, the star Altair (the Ox-Driver). As described in Go-Yōzei's poem, participants celebrated at Star Festival parties by composing verses and offering fruit and music to the gods. The Star Festival occurred in the hot, muggy season, a perfect time to expose the imperial library to air to allow humidity to escape from the pages of precious folios and surfaces of handscrolls, making them less vulnerable to damage from mildew and insects. The airings—known as "drying out insects" (*mushiboshi*), "driving out insects" (*mushibarai*), and other terms—were based on Chinese practice and apparently had been held since the seventh century or earlier.[59] The court abandoned this annual practice, however, during the tumultuous *Sengoku jidai*.



23 Emperor Go-Yōzei. Poem on the theme of airing books. 1601. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 43.8 x 58 cm. Gyobutsu–Imperial Collections (Imperial Properties). Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.

In 1601 Go-Yōzei reintroduced the airing of books at Tanabata.[60] After this, the monarch called upon groups of acquaintances, sometimes numbering up to twenty noblemen, to join him each summer in a three-day event marking the Star Festival at the *dairi*.

At first glance, the event that Go-Yōzei describes in his poem on the theme of airing books might appear as a simple festivity, but the ritual also encouraged serious scholarly activities amongst the nobles who were able to "browse the stacks" at the imperial library.[61] In addition, the Tanabata airing saw the emperor and assembled nobles compose, brush, and recite their poems, as they did at many other court gatherings. As the scholar John Carpenter has noted, "the imperial house, through the ritual of poetry gatherings, stimulated the production of calligraphy as imperial performance art."[62] Airing rituals thus preserved and promoted several aspects of court culture.[63] Sponsoring such rituals and festivals was a significant court function that enhanced imperial prestige, and military lords recognized this fact. Accordingly, warlords sponsored their own rites, presumably hoping to appropriate some of the esteem once again accruing to the emperor and his court.[64]

Along with his efforts to sustain the annual rites and ceremonies of the court, Go-Yōzei upheld im-


朕迎南化禪師令參
得即心即佛要會得
大機大用不堪感生
前雖可補國師不遂
素志故任往日之旨特賜
定慧圓明國師號
德副恩弥重
慶長十年乙巳五月廿日
無礙塔下

24 Emperor Go-Yōzei. Letter conferring the name Jokei Enmyō Kokushi on Nange Genkō. 1605. Handscroll; ink on paper. 41.2 x 75.9 cm. Rinkain, Myōshinji, Kyoto.

perial tradition by participating in Buddhist religious activities, as several of his surviving calligraphic works suggest.[65] He was acquainted with religious leaders from the "Five Mountains" (*Gozan*) complex of Kyoto Zen temples, which from the fourteenth century had served as a hub of the Zen monastic organization and as a conduit for Chinese literati culture. In addition, Go-Yōzei maintained close contacts with Zen monks outside the Gozan establishment, including Nange Genkō (1538–1604) of Myōshinji and Shun'oku Sōen (1529–1611) of Daitokuji. Both Genkō and Sōen had enjoyed long, illustrious careers and knew some of the most influential figures of their day. Nange compiled the *Azuchiyama no ki* (Records of Azuchiyama) for Oda Nobunaga, and he founded Shōunji in Kyoto as a mortuary temple for Hideyoshi's son Tsurumatsu, who died in childhood. Nange also participated with Go-Yōzei in the rituals and ceremonies of Hideyoshi's apotheosis.[66]

Having received instruction from Nange, Go-Yōzei bestowed upon him the posthumous title "Teacher of the Land" (*Kokushi*). A letter from Go-Yōzei dated to the twentieth day of the fifth month of 1605, in the collection of Rinkain at Myōshinji, praises Nange's high ethical principles and officially confers on him the title "Teacher of the Land, Jokei Enmyō" (fig. 24). In the last two lines of the letter, Go-Yōzei appended the Zen phrase, "no obstacles" (*muge*). Go-Yōzei brushed nine lines of elegant *kanji* in this letter, demonstrating his mastery of the erudite Chinese traditions transmitted by Zen monks.

Further testimony to Go-Yōzei's interest in Zen is an ink painting of *Bodhidharma* (*Daruma-zu*) with a poetic inscription, both attributed to him, dated to about 1600 and preserved in the collection of Jishōin, a Rinzai temple associated with Shōkokuji (fig. 25).[67] Go-Yōzei inscribed the poem above; a beggar had supposedly given this poem centuries before to Shotoku Taishi (574–622), the prince regent who was an influential early supporter of Buddhism in Japan. The beggar was then recognized as an incarnation of Bodhidharma, customarily iden-

tified as the Indian prince turned monk who transmitted Zen to China. The poem suggests a special, early connection existing between Zen and the Japanese imperial family.[68]

THE EMPEROR AS AMATEUR PAINTER

Go-Yōzei is known to have painted, and he also commissioned work from leading painters such as Kaihō Yūshō and Kano Takanobu. A small number of surviving pieces and several Edo-period records attest that the emperor studied painting as an amateur and created images that ranged from religious themes to flowers-and-birds and animals.[69] Extant pieces attributed to Go-Yōzei include three hanging scroll paintings: the just mentioned *Bodhidharma* at Jishōin; *Sparrows in Bamboo* (*Take ni suzume-zu*) in the Yōmei Bunko; and *Hawk Seizing a Pheasant* (*Ōkaku kiji-zu*) formerly owned by the Takamatsunomiya family, now in the National Museum of Japanese History in Chiba (figs. 25–27), Although none of these works attributed to Go-Yōzei can be firmly authenticated, and none bears the imperial signature or seal, each has verifiable provenance. All three are skillfully executed and informed by stylistic precedents in painting that Go-Yōzei would have been familiar with.[70] In *Sparrows in Bamboo*, two diminutive birds nestle in a safe and gentle environment surrounded by a cluster of bamboo rendered in soft tones of monochrome ink (fig. 26). In *Hawk Seizing a Pheasant*, painted in bright polychrome pigments, the fierce bird of prey sinks its talons into the wing and head of a hapless victim (fig. 27). In the case of the latter, it is hard not to read the painting as a metaphor of warrior-court relations.

Textual references in fact support the conclusion that Go-Yōzei was a skillful artist. In his diary, the *Kakumei-ki*, Hōrin Jōshō (1593–1668)—the son of nobleman Kajūji Haretoyo (1544–1602) and the emperor's cousin—speaks of Go-Yōzei's "surprising ability" as a painter.[71] In the *Tansei jakubokushū*, a compilation of artists' biographies, Kano Ikkei (1599–1662) also remarks on Go-Yōzei's talents as a



25 Emperor Go-Yōzei. *Bodhidharma*. Ca. 1600. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 53.8 x 35.4 cm. Jishōin, Shōkokuji, Kyoto.

painter.[72] The *Koga bikō* (Notes on Old Paintings), a dictionary of painters, lists several paintings by Go-Yōzei still in existence in the mid-nineteenth century.[73] These included a painting with horses, an image of Buddhist sages (J: *rakan*; S: *arhat*), and an icon of the Buddha of Infinite Light (J: Amida; S: Amitābha/Amitāyus). The three works were housed at the Kannondō of Kiyomizudera, at Tōfukuji, and at Kōmyōji in Kamakura, respectively. It is not known whether these three paintings survive.

According to *Koga bikō*, Go-Yōzei developed his skill at painting under the tutelage of Kaihō Yūshō (1533–1615), an acclaimed artist who also produced work for display at Go-Yōzei's palace.[74] Yūshō was renowned for an individualistic style



26 Emperor Go-Yōzei. *Sparrows in Bamboo.* Late 16th or early 17th century. Folding fan mounted as a hanging scroll; ink on paper. 17.7 x 52.5 cm. Yōmei Bunko, Kyoto.

charged with dynamic energy. Although born into a warrior clan, Yūshō had been sent to Kyoto at an early age and raised at the Zen temple Tōfukuji, and this is where he presumably found inspiration in Zen painting. One of Yūshō's patrons had been Hideyoshi. About 1610 Go-Yōzei awarded Yūshō a commission to paint the plectrum guard of a lute (*biwa*) with the image of a *kirin* (C: *qilin*), a mythological creature whose appearance was considered in China a sign that good government prevailed at the time.[75]

A few years after painting the plectrum guard, Yūshō displayed work at the palace, as we learn from the diary of the aristocrat Yamashina Tokio (1577–1620). In 1613 Tokio wrote that he had seen about seventy "pasted-on paintings" (*oshi-e*) by Yūshō at the imperial palace.[76] None of these is thought to survive, but we can guess that they were a format, popular from about 1610, of multi-panel folding screens, onto each panel of which a separate smaller painting was affixed.[77] Yūshō is also known to have produced paintings for Go-Yōzei's brother, Hachijōnomiya Toshihito.[78]

Although Go-Yōzei may have trained under Yūshō, not all of the emperor's attributed paintings adhere to Yūshō's style. The painting of *Bodhidharma*—rendered with a minimum of quick contours using the split tip of a bamboo stem—is rough and broad and reveals some of the expressive daring of Yūshō's monochrome paintings (fig. 25). The *Sparrows in Bamboo* and *Hawk Seizing a Pheasant*, however, are quite different (figs. 26–27). *Sparrows in Bamboo* is painted in soft tones of monochrome ink, the hawk and pheasant in vibrant polychrome. Although these paintings diverge in content and style, they all exhibit elements derived from painting of the Muromachi period. Go-Yōzei would have based his renderings either on specific Song-dynasty paintings or on Muromachi paintings that followed Song precedents. Similar work had inspired Go-Yōzei's teacher, Yūshō, but Yūshō had synthesized these and other styles in order to create his own expertly realized vision.

Why Go-Yōzei decided to study with Yūshō is unclear, but his choices of teacher and painting styles point to his appreciation of earlier traditions of Muromachi visual culture, especially Song-inspired Chinese traditions commonly associated



27 Emperor Go-Yōzei. *Hawk Seizing a Pheasant*. Late 16th or early 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper. National Museum of Japanese History, Chiba.

with the elite culture fostered at leading Zen temples of Kyoto. As mentioned earlier, Go-Yōzei maintained frequent contacts with members of the Zen clergy, following the lead of many imperial predecessors, and like earlier emperors, he encouraged institutional exchanges with these and other Buddhist temples. The connection with Buddhist temples augmented in various ways the imperial ideology inherited by Go-Yōzei.

KANO TAKANOBU AS COURT PAINTER

The painter who would develop the strongest relationship with the court during the latter part of Go-Yōzei's reign was Kano Takanobu, second son of Eitoku, whose palace ties are documented in such sources as the court annals, *Oyudononoue no nikki*.[79] Takanobu's older brother, Mitsunobu, seems to have already established a close connection with the court and to have allied himself with the Tosa atelier, the workshop of painters that had previously painted for the palace; Mitsunobu possibly even married the daughter of Tosa Mitsumoto.[80] Takanobu may have been the first member of the Kano workshop to be honored with the position of director and chief artist of the bureau of painting (*edokoro azukari*), a court position that had been in existence since at least the early eleventh century; scholars differ, however, in their interpretation of the sources on this matter.[81]

The *Honchō gashi* (History of Japanese Painting), completed by Kano Einō (1631–1697), notes Takanobu's significant relationship with the imperial household.[82] The *Honchō gashi* is one of the ear-

liest histories of Japanese art; it includes sections of text likely written before 1651 by Kano Sansetsu (1589–1651) that were expanded by his son Einō, making it a rare early seventeenth-century source on painting written by painters. According to the *Honchō gashi*, Takanobu painted at the *dairi* and was granted the rank of "Ukon Shōgen." In addition to what the *Honchō gashi* records, Go-Yōzei may have personally selected Takanobu to receive the title of *edokoro azukari*, but no documentation clearly states as much. Go-Yōzei was certainly familiar with Takanobu, and according to a *Copy of the Documentation of the Sumiyoshi Family* (*Sumiyoshike mopon okugaki*), he commissioned the artist to paint two hanging scrolls of the Five Hundred Arhats (*Gohyaku rakkan-zu*) for Tōfukuji in 1611.[83]

The *Oyudononoue no nikki* first mentions Takanobu in an entry of 1599, referring to him as "Kano Shōgen" and suggesting that he was a court artist, and the annals confirm in an entry of 1600 that Takanobu painted sliding-door panels for the Kurodo palace.[84] If Takanobu were named *edokoro azukari*, much of his time would have gone to painting the interiors of *dairi* buildings; unfortunately, the majority of these have apparently been lost.[85] Takanobu also would have created small works in various formats, such as painted fans for the emperor, one for each month of the year. These works by the director of the bureau of painting had been important for some time and were referred to by several aristocrats in their diaries.[86] In addition to his own painting, the director of the bureau of painting may have advised the imperial family on artistic matters, offering specialized knowledge on collecting, preserving, and appreciating art.[87]

Takanobu was awarded the commission to paint the portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei (*Go-Yōzei tennō son-ei-zu*) preserved at Sennyūji (fig. 28).[88] An undated hanging scroll painted in rich polychrome on silk, the portrait bears two of Takanobu's artist seals, explaining in part why scholars widely accept this as a work by Takanobu.[89] It would have been natural for Takanobu to paint this piece if he had been *edokoro azukari*. In the past, painters holding the position of *edokoro azukari* had often produced imperial mortuary portraits, including the images of Emperor Go-En'yū and Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado painted by Tosa Mitsunobu (act. ca. 1469–1522).[90] The portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei is one of many images of imperial family members found in the collection of Sennyūji, works that might be characterized as religious paraphernalia. Sennyūji, which had for centuries conducted memorial services for the souls of departed members of the imperial family, was the site for graves (known as *ryō*, *sanryō*, *goryō*, or *misasagi*) of many emperors, imperial mothers, and grandmothers.[91] Although Sennyūji had suffered extensive damage during the phase of the country at war, Go-Yōzei offered generous support for its restoration. After Go-Yōzei's abdication several of his *dairi* buildings were dismantled and moved to Sennyūji, allowing for construction of his successor's palace.[92]

Takanobu represents Go-Yōzei wearing aristocratic garb, including a lacquered nobleman's cap (*eboshi*), sitting with dignified reserve on a raised tatami-covered dais (*agedatami*). The angular folds of his starched blue robes seem more like a housing than a garment. Despite the sense of concrete verisimilitude conveyed in this portrait, Takanobu likely finished the work based on sketches—the procedure for painting portraits at the time—and did not necessarily paint it from life. He likely produced the painting in the year after Go-Yōzei's death, just before Takanobu's own demise, for display at memorial services. Since Takanobu worked for the court and since the portrait belongs to Sennyūji, we can also surmise that it was ordered by a ranking member of court, perhaps Go-Yōzei's wife or one of his many children. Images such as the portrait of Go-Yōzei served a specific devotional function: they were a focus of prayer at commemorative ceremonies held on the anniversary of an individual's death. According to time-honored Buddhist observance, the portrait—like the mortuary tablet (*ihai*) bearing the individual's name, also kept at the temple—was understood as a lodging place for the spirit of the deceased during prayers.[93] In memorializing Go-Yōzei, his descendants preserved a religious practice that also encouraged a respect for



28 Kano Takanobu. *Portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei.* Early 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink, colors on silk. 107 x 60 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.

tradition and authority within the family line.

Apart from asking Kano Takanobu to create work for the palace and requesting Kaihō Yūshō to paint the lute plectrum guard, there is little evidence that Go-Yōzei did much to commission painting. Instead, the emperor focused his efforts on sponsoring the Keichō Imperial Editions and on making paintings and calligraphies. His successor, Emperor Go-Mizunoo, differed in his cultural activities.

PALACE RELATIONS WITH MILITARY AUTHORITIES

As military and political events unfolded outside the *dairi*, Go-Yōzei often exerted his authority to ensure order and prosperity within the court, but he needed to negotiate his way between two contending military powers, the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa. Following his victory at the Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu was maneuvering to be the supreme military and political power in Japan, while the Toyotomi interests, led by Yododono, were working to defend their inherited "right" to the same supremacy, especially in the areas of Kyoto and Osaka.

Ieyasu made a major step toward his goal in 1603, when the emperor bestowed upon him the court title of *sei-i taishōgun*, or shogun.[94] No military lord had held the title of shogun since Nobunaga ousted the last Ashikaga shogun. Neither Nobunaga nor Hideyoshi had been granted the title; presumably both had decided not to ask for it. When Go-Yōzei conferred the shogunal title on Ieyasu, therefore, the Tokugawa lord advanced in authority amongst the warrior lords who had been his peers. Although the Tokugawa shogun eventually wielded a level of power unprecedented in Japanese history, years of careful planning were necessary to solidify the stability of the regime. Toward that end, the first Tokugawa shoguns instituted strict, even severe constraints on virtually all aspects of behavior, making the early seventeenth century an era of terror for many. As one historian cogently comments, "The Tokugawa pacification was, in many ways, a classic case of state formation through monopolizing the use of violence."[95]

Ieyasu spent a great deal of time in Kyoto as he labored to establish control over its sites of authority, from the imperial palace to warrior mansions and religious centers. It was no simple matter for Ieyasu to issue orders in Kyoto, in part due to the legacy of Hideyoshi, who had brought the court back from destitution and had allowed Kyoto townspeople to exercise a certain degree of authority over their own affairs.[96] Seeing clear advantages in affiliating himself with the court, Ieyasu developed a relationship with monarchs that was partly supportive, partly coercive.[97] Like Hideyoshi, Ieyasu adopted an imperial prince, later known as Ryōjun, whom he perhaps thought a promising candidate for the throne.[98] Ieyasu also provided financial backing for the court as did his rivals, the Toyotomi.

Before Ieyasu vanquished the Toyotomi, Go-Yōzei carefully doled out court favor to both factions, expressed most notably in decrees of honorary titles. With the title came the right to wear a certain type of robe, ride in a certain type of carriage, write a certain type of calligraphy, and even fold an envelope in a certain manner. These privileges might seem trivial for an age accustomed to brute displays of force, but warriors actively sought social advancement and saw a value in the courtly markers of status. Admittedly, court-granted titles must have appeared less exclusive than they had been in earlier eras. In the medieval period one of the few ways that a warrior lacking in esteemed pedigree could increase his prestige was by having an emperor bestow upon him an imperial rank or aristocratic name.

From the fifteenth century on, however, as more military lords were granted such honors, some forged genealogies for themselves to facilitate quicker advancement in court rank. Ieyasu did exactly this, claiming to be "chief of the Minamoto family line" (*Genji no chōja*); in other words, he identified himself as the leader of the clan that had established the first military government, the Kamakura bakufu, over four hundred years earlier. Ie-

yasu had begun climbing the ladder of court rank early in his career, when in 1566 he was appointed to the junior lower fifth rank. Nearly four decades later Go-Yōzei named Ieyasu not only shogun (a military title), but also minister of the right (*udaijin*; a court title). On his deathbed Ieyasu received the exalted title of great minister of state (*daijō daijin*) from the emperor.

Attempting to match the honors granted the Tokugawa with boons for the Toyotomi, Go-Yōzei promoted Hideyori to the office of minister of the center (*naidaijin*) in 1603 and to the office of minister of the right in 1605. Like Ieyasu, Hideyori advanced rapidly at court, and several of his retainers received court titles as well. Apparently sensing a potential danger in this, Ieyasu ordered that warriors be granted court rank only by bakufu petition.[99] In 1614, however, the court bestowed rank on retainers of Hideyori without prior approval from the bakufu, in direct defiance of Ieyasu's edict. Some might have interpreted this imperial gesture as indicating an equality of the two clans or perhaps even imperial support for the Toyotomi over the Tokugawa, presumably explaining why the Tokugawa felt compelled to curtail the court's granting of titles.

Within the *dairi* unprecedented events were taking place that reflected developments in the country at large. As the upheaval of the country at war slowly abated, a lively popular culture was emerging in urban centers. One manifestation of this was Kabuki, an initially bawdy entertainment popular amongst townspeople and other audiences. In early seventeenth-century Kyoto, the rage for Kabuki—in which shrine dances were transformed into amusing spectacles—was a phenomenon; in 1603 a young female entertainer named Okuni even performed the song-and-dance sensation for ranking aristocrats at the palace of Go-Yōzei's consort, Chūkamon'in. The event, described in the diaries of two courtiers present at the invitation of the empress, was attended by numerous nobles and featured banquets and other entertainments.[100] Records of the 1603 party, along with related records, refer to other instances of Kabuki performances at the palace in the early years of the century, indicating aristocratic interest in the most recent fads.[101]

Kabuki dancers were an often welcome novelty. But far less welcome were the masterless warriors (*rōnin*) whose lords had died in battle or had lost their lands, and deviant characters (*kabukimono*), often rowdy and defiant of secular authority.[102] Despite official rulings, malcontents continued to use the city streets and entertainment spots as sites of social and political resistance through the first decades of the century. As if to personally dispel the chaos of these turbulent times, Go-Yōzei occupied himself at court with his ritual and cultural obligations, dedicating himself to the serious business of upholding the court's heritage. The emperor also insisted that inhabitants of the palace follow court norms. Go-Yōzei took a dim view of his courtiers' fascination with the boisterous new culture of the day, and he attempted to limit the extent to which the rebellious spirit of the *kabukimono* and other disruptive currents of his day might infiltrate the *dairi*; his actions had some success.[103]

Go-Yōzei's most serious troubles at court erupted in 1609, when he learned of an amorous relationship that had developed between an imperial consort, Shin'ōsuke, and a member of the palace guard, Inokuma Noritoshi. Inokuma held a low rank in the court hierarchy, but he had flash and charm, as well as talent at aristocratic arts and games. He dressed in trendy clothing—palace guards did not always wear the traditional garb that earlier on had been strictly assigned by rank—and he behaved in a rowdy way, and thus Inokuma fits the contemporary descriptions of *kabukimono*.[104] On learning of the affair, an infuriated Go-Yōzei ordered the execution of the two principals, plus those who had attempted to cover it up. Ieyasu stepped in, however, recommending that the emperor lighten the sentence for all but two lower ranking noblemen involved. Ieyasu was following the advice of his magistrate in Kyoto, who was concerned about possible negative results of unforgiving penalties. Go-Yōzei was forced to comply and only the two noblemen were sentenced to death.[105]

The details of this episode, known now as "the

court lady scandal," not only confirm that followers of rambunctious popular culture such as Inokuma had found a home for themselves within the imperial compound, it also indicates that the emperor could expect only partial support from the shogun in enforcing order within palace ranks.[106] Thus, the ultimate outcome of the scandal was a clash between the bakufu and the *dairi*. In the face of this humiliation, Go-Yōzei once again resolved to abdicate, a decision that led to yet another power struggle with Ieyasu.

GO-YŌZEI RELINQUISHES THE THRONE

In 1609 Go-Yōzei wrote to Ieyasu stating his intention to retire from the throne. He needed Ieyasu's consent because the abdication ceremonies were expensive and required funding from the bakufu. Time passed before Ieyasu responded in the affirmative. Once he had heard from Ieyasu, Go-Yōzei declared that the abdication ceremony, as well as the capping ceremony (*genpuku*; a coming-of-age rite) for the crown prince (the future Go-Mizunoo), would occur on the same day. That, however, was contrary to Ieyasu's instructions. Ieyasu (who by this time had retired as shogun) ordered that Go-Mizunoo's coming-of-age ceremony should be held in 1610, and the abdication and enthronement ceremonies in the following year. But Go-Yōzei ignored Ieyasu's stipulated timing for the ceremonies and referred to the "model of the Engi era (901–922)," when emperors had been truly powerful.[107] For the imperial household, the Engi era was the zenith of enlightened imperial rule, and Go-Yōzei repeatedly referred to it as such in commentaries and correspondences.[108]

These messages were not lost on Ieyasu, who decided that Go-Yōzei must give way. In the end Ieyasu got what he wanted. Some scholars even claim that Ieyasu engineered the choice of successor.[109] Go-Mizunoo was the natural choice to succeed Go-Yōzei given that he was the emperor's oldest surviving son who had not entered the priesthood, but he certainly would never have ascended the throne without Tokugawa approval.[110] Ieyasu signaled his endorsement of Go-Mizunoo as Go-Yōzei's successor by attending the enthronement ceremonies in 1611.

In many respects Go-Yōzei's son and successor, Emperor Go-Mizunoo, was perfectly situated to preserve his father's legacy. For the first six years of his reign, Go-Mizunoo was overshadowed by his father, who was ruling as retired emperor, but he had allies at court who helped him in handling the situation. These included members of his mother's family, the highly placed Konoe, most notably his uncle Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614), who had extensive experience in the governance and culture of the court.[111] In fact, it was Nobutada who presided at the capping ceremony for the crown prince, held on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month of 1610.[112] Go-Mizunoo was the first descendant of the aristocratic Konoe family to ascend the throne in centuries, and he ensured that the bond between the imperial household and the Konoe clan remained close through the remainder of the seventeenth century.

Go-Yōzei continued to be the true master of the court for the next six years, ruling as retired emperor. Presumably, Go-Yōzei's role model in retirement was the twelfth-century monarch Go-Shirakawa, widely recognized for establishing the imperial precedent of protecting court traditions and arts.[113] In the story of Go-Shirakawa, Go-Yōzei discovered one way a retired emperor might enhance the authority of the imperial family at court, while simultaneously restoring the general prestige of aristocratic culture.[114] Go-Yōzei must have recognized the parallels between himself and Go-Shirakawa, who operated in the face of resistance from powerful warrior factions just before and as Japan's first military government was establishing itself. Crime had been rampant, as had famine and epidemics. In Kyoto fighting had broken out in the streets and people congregated in the Gion area for wild dancing. Much the same could be said of Kyoto four hundred years later, in Go-Yōzei's day.

Go-Shirakawa may have inspired Go-Yōzei and

other later upholders of court culture, but his example also served as a warning. In the eyes of many chroniclers who served military lords, Go-Shirakawa's image as an imperial leader was tarnished by his attempt to interfere in the business of government. Go-Yōzei and other later monarchs could not escape the perception of Go-Shirakawa as a schemer and plotter.

Another predecessor who must have been a cautionary example to Go-Yōzei was the early fourteenth-century emperor Go-Daigo, remembered today as the only post-Heian-period emperor who dared to launch a rebellion against military overlords. Ordering the conscription of an imperial army and backed by the warrior lord Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358), Go-Daigo overthrew the Hōjō regency and brought an end to the Kamakura bakufu. Once free of the Hōjō, Go-Daigo made clear his intention to rule as well as reign. Takauji, however, saw himself as ruler and eventually proved the stronger contender, forcing Go-Daigo from the capital. Go-Daigo then established a break-away court south of Kyoto at Yoshino. Go-Daigo's dream of restoring imperial sovereignty was dashed, and he had launched an imperial schism that lasted almost sixty years, while the Ashikaga assisted another member of the imperial family to the throne in the ancient capital.

The court faced a precarious situation in the first years of the seventeenth century, before the Tokugawa eradicated the Toyotomi. Though Go-Yōzei had played a crucial role in Hideyoshi's apotheosis, he could not afford to side with the Toyotomi exclusively. Before his death Hideyoshi had received a pledge from his leading vassals (including Ieyasu) to protect his young heir, but not all held to their promise. For seventeen years after Hideyoshi's death, it remained unclear whether the young Toyotomi heir would eventually re-establish his clan's supremacy, and so Go-Yōzei spent the final years of his reign strategically situating the court between the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa. Recognizing the vulnerability of the court in these treacherous times, he artfully played to the strengths of the imperial institution, seeing to its preservation and enhancement.

Go-Yōzei's urgent championing of solemn court traditions aimed not only to enforce order amongst courtiers, but, once again, clearly, to enhance imperial authority. The various projects to preserve and revive the courtly culture described in this chapter, all informed by ancient imperial ideology, were inspired by such hopes. In sum, Go-Yōzei accomplished his goals with the aid of aristocratic arts, relying upon court tradition to position himself as a source of cultural authority within the palace and throughout the realm. As a sponsor of cultural forms and a practitioner of the arts, Go-Yōzei made numerous contributions to sustaining the court's heritage. He supported the development of print culture with his Keichō Imperial Editions, many volumes of which had themes related to good government and imperial legitimacy. Similarly, he took advantage of the prized literary inheritance of *waka* to shore up traditional notions of the monarch's political centrality in the land. He also sponsored and created visual images that tell of his unique perspective as leader of the court.



3

Tokugawa Shoguns and Patronage for the Throne

By 1611, the year in which the sixteen-year-old Go-Mizunoo was named emperor, Tokugawa Ieyasu (now retired) and his son Hidetada, the second Tokugawa shogun, had presented themselves as supporters of the throne time and again. The young Go-Mizunoo grew into a talented leader, who presided over a newly restored court for nearly seventy years, surmounting numerous obstacles to establish his own imperial presence. One obstacle was former Emperor Go-Yōzei's intention to continue ruling in retirement, despite his son being on the throne. But it was Go-Mizunoo's relations with the Tokugawa that proved most challenging. This chapter examines how the Tokugawa secured their dominance over the court with largesse in one hand and civil authority backed by military power in the other. These approaches were demonstrated publicly by the funding of an impressive new palace for Go-Mizunoo and by the requirement that the emperor deify Ieyasu. The chapter elucidates Tokugawa motivations for protecting and promoting the imperial household, along with Tokugawa methods of employing cultural patronage to ensure a position for themselves of preeminent power as they cemented a foundation for the bakufu.

Kano Takanobu, *Tai Gongwang*, detail of fig. 31.

THE TOKUGAWA ASSERTION OF POLITICAL DOMINANCE

When Tokugawa Ieyasu first designated Edo as the site for his government, he began to shift his focus away from Kyoto, thereby accomplishing several main objectives. These included diminishing the access to power of certain military factions in the old capital and avoiding the infighting that was rampant in civilian political circles of Kyoto. Despite this, Ieyasu spent much of his time as shogun in the Kyoto area, working from two residences, Fushimi Castle and Nijō Castle.

Ieyasu was undeniably an autocrat, and yet he never enforced a system of universal taxation or kept a national standing army. In other words, the founder of the Tokugawa regime did not strive to build a totalitarian nation-state; certainly he was aware how difficult it would be to fully regulate far-flung provinces.[1] Then, after holding the shogunal office for only two years, Ieyasu announced plans to retire to Sunpu (present-day Shizuoka City), located near Edo. In the fourth month of 1605 he relinquished leadership of the bakufu to become the retired shogun (*ōgosho*), a position free from imperial court affiliation. Following Ieyasu's recommendation, Go-Yōzei named Ieyasu's son Hidetada as the second shogunal head of the Edo regime. Ieyasu thus transferred nominal decision making to Hidetada, while continuing to exercise power and keeping a careful watch over his successor's actions.

Under Ieyasu's guidance Hidetada worked to

minimize the power of potential adversaries among the military clans, and he naturally focused on the Toyotomi, who still exercised considerable influence. In 1614 the Tokugawa finally declared full-scale war on the Toyotomi, launching the Winter Campaign against Osaka Castle. This campaign proved indecisive, but in the following year Tokugawa forces returned to Osaka, and annihilated the Toyotomi. Hoping to convey the message that a period of harmony and order would henceforth prevail, the Tokugawa called on the emperor to designate a new era name (*gengō*).[2] About two months after the Tokugawa victory over the Toyotomi, indeed, Go-Mizunoo announced the beginning of Genna, meaning "the origin of peace." In this and many other ways, the Tokugawa revealed their awareness that the emperor could help in establishing a pacified order. Soon after their victory, the Tokugawa also issued regulatory codes for three elite groups: warriors, aristocrats, and priests. First came the Regulations for the Military Houses (*Buke shohatto*), which were meant to limit the ability of still-powerful daimyo who were not Tokugawa vassals before Sekigahara (*tozama daimyō*) to oppose Tokugawa rule. Later, the Tokugawa presented the Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility (*Kinchū narabi ni kuge shohatto*) and the Regulations for Religious Establishments (*Jiin hatto*).

To convey the Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility, Hidetada called on the imperial chancellor Nijō Akizane (1556–1619) and other artistocrats to attend a formal banquet in Kyoto, and after the meal he handed intermediaries the codes, which were to be delivered to the emperor. Article One of the regulations for aristocrats reads,

> The emperor is to be engaged in the arts [*geinō*], the first of which is scholarship [*gakumon*]. If he is negligent in learning he will be unable to illuminate the ancient way; there has yet to be [an unlearned emperor] who has ruled well in peace.[3]

Next, the Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility turns to poetry composition, stipulating specifically that emperors should not abandon *waka*.[4] From the outset, therefore, these Regulations declared that the emperor should concentrate his efforts on the arts, specifically scholarly and poetic traditions. The court codes—which also prescribed rules for rank, promotion, and costume—were not new; instead, they were centuries-old dictates related to aristocratic protocol and pursuits.

Although historians have repeatedly asserted that the Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility restricted the emperor and nobles to ceremonial and artistic pursuits and were meant to minimize the political influence of the court, it is also possible that Ieyasu was affirming here the authority of the emperor and his nobles. Lee Butler presents a persuasive argument that Ieyasu intended the Regulations as a bulwark for court leaders, as a means of protecting their institution after years of impoverishment and scandal.[5] The scarcity of comments about the Regulations in imperial and courtly diaries and annals suggests that the aristocrats found the codes unobjectionable.

By their decisive military victory over the Toyotomi in 1615, the Tokugawa had realized a new level of political *and cultural* authority. Yet, even those participating in Tokugawa cultural activities might face violence, as when the former shogun commanded Furuta Oribe (1544–1615), who served as Hidetada's advisor on tea, to commit ritual suicide (*seppuku*).[6] Of course, Oribe was more than a cultivated tea master; he was also a warrior lord. Someone had accused Oribe of plotting against the Tokugawa during the tense days of their final assault on the Toyotomi, and despite Oribe's high standing, Ieyasu ordered his suicide in the sixth month of 1615.

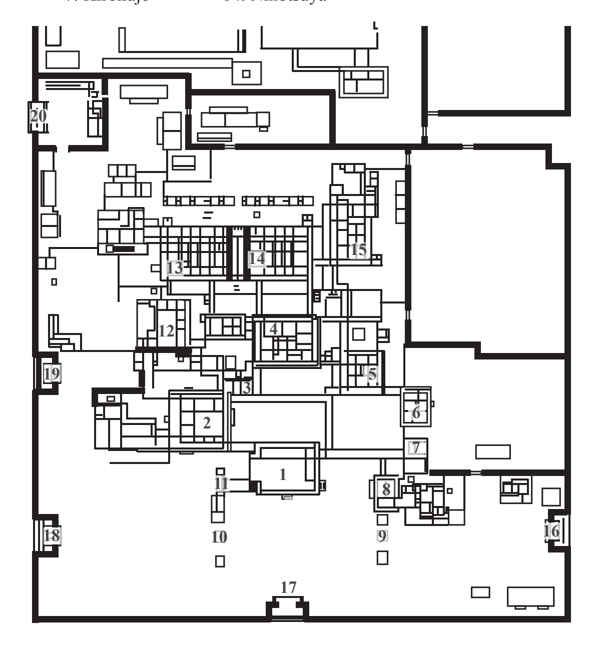
Once in power, however, the Tokugawa treated many cultural figures generously, or at least they encouraged cultural activity in so far as it promoted their own goals, as in their support of the Kano workshop of artists, a number of whom worked for the bakufu. Although Kano Takanobu, who oversaw the paintings created for the new palace of Go-Mizunoo, was apparently in service to the imperial court and not the bakufu, it was the Tokugawa lords who funded construction and painting at the palace

(although in some cases the source of the funding and labor was regional lords ordered by the Tokugawa to take part). This was an act of Tokugawa sponsorship of the court that echoed the previous Toyotomi sponsorship of Go-Yōzei's palace, as must have been intended.

A NEW PALACE FOR GO-MIZUNOO

Well before the Tokugawa defeated the Toyotomi in 1615 and even months in advance of Go-Mizunoo's enthronement ceremony in the fourth month of 1611, members of the shogunal and court bureaucracies commenced their intricate preparations for the imperial succession. As was customary, courtiers dedicated poems to the new emperor and priests offered prayers at temples and shrines, while tailors stitched new costumes and architects built new quarters for the emperor's assorted functions and needs. Work on Go-Mizunoo's new palace started in 1610 and continued into 1614.[7] As the work occurred before the Osaka Campaign, the Tokugawa likely saw their sponsorship of it as a means to bolster their standing in relation to the Toyotomi.

A detailed hand-drawn plan of the Keichō Palace (so-called after the Keichō era, 1596–1615) survives, providing valuable information on its original layout (fig. 29).[8] This plan is thought to have been drawn about the time of construction and shows the grand scheme of the compound, with numerous buildings connected by corridors in a labyrinthine formation. Based on the plan of the Keichō Palace, we can say that Go-Mizunoo's *dairi* maintained a traditional layout with the main buildings—including the Shishinden and the Seiryōden—situated at the south end of the compound. A distinctive feature of Go-Yōzei's palace was carried forward: the Seiryōden again served as a hall for ceremonial activities rather than solely as the emperor's private residence.[9] A palace record of 1613, the *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe* (Memo on Orders Received about the Palace of the Emperor), states the painting themes being planned for ten of the palace buildings.[10] From this record, referred to below as the 1613 memo, we also learn that Kano Takanobu conceived the basic designs for all the sliding-door panel paintings to be installed at the Keichō Palace. Furthermore, Takanobu was planning to take responsibility for finishing all of the panels in the Shishinden and some of the panels in other buildings as well, which he then finished in about 1614.



29 Diagram based on the *Instructions Regarding Palace Construction of the Keichō Era*. Ca. 1610–1614.

Several structures from the Keichō Palace still stand; they are among the oldest *dairi* buildings to have survived into the modern period. They are no longer found within the imperial compound, however. About thirty years after the Keichō Palace was completed, several of its buildings were dismantled and moved to Ninnaji, a Shingon temple in northwestern Kyoto with a centuries-old connection to the court. Built by imperial command in 887, Ninnaji had long served as a *monzeki*, a Buddhist



30 Golden Hall (Kondō) of Ninnaji, Kyoto. 17th century. National Treasure.

institution whose abbot or abbess belonged to the imperial family.[11]

Information provided by the seventeenth-century *Ichionbō kenjō hinami-ki* (Daily Record of the Ichionbō Kenjō) indicates that three buildings from the Keichō Palace were moved to Ninnaji about 1642.[12] Two of the buildings still stand at the temple. The larger of these, the Shishinden, survives as Ninnaji's Golden Hall (Kondō), which is designated by the Japanese government as a National Treasure (fig. 30). A large structure divided into only a few rooms, the Shishinden was easily refashioned into the Golden Hall, a central building holding the temple's main icon (*honzon*). The Seiryōden of the Keichō palace survives at Ninnaji in truncated form as the Founder's Portrait Hall (Mieidō), a building in which an image of the temple's founder is enshrined.[13] The record of reconstruction at Ninnaji relates that yet another building from the Keichō Palace, the Tsunegoten (since lost to fire), was donated and moved to Ninnaji about 1642. At that time Go-Mizunoo's daughter, reigning Empress Meishō, was about to abdicate in favor of her brother, Emperor Go-Kōmyō.[14]

Ninnaji had suffered severe damage during the violent *Sengoku jidai* and was restored in the mid-seventeenth century, on whose initiative is uncertain.[15] Although the ultimate source of funds for restoration must have been the bakufu—along with the warrior lords ordered by the bakufu to contribute—it is likely that members of the imperial family requested the assistance, as several imperial princes resided at Ninnaji. Go-Mizunoo's elder brother, Prince Kakujin, had already entered the priesthood at Ninnaji and had been named twenty-first abbot of the temple in 1610. Later, in 1657, Go-Mizunoo's sixth son, tonsured Prince Shōshō, succeeded his uncle.

TAKANOBU'S PAINTINGS FOR THE KEICHŌ PALACE

The Shishinden and the Seiryōden of the Keichō Palace are important as much for their architecture as for their paintings, some of which also survive at Ninnaji. Apparently both buildings were moved with their interior doors and panels intact.[16] Production of panels for Go-Mizunoo's palace was a significant court project that depended upon Tokugawa largesse, making them—along with paintings from several other stages of palace reconstruction—central to the present study. Among the sections of painting preserved at Ninnaji are a group of

twenty panels from the throne room of the Shishinden with paintings on silk (figs. 31–32). Sixteen of these picture the Thirty-two Chinese Sages and, of the four remaining panels, two feature pines (*matsu*) and the other two feature a Chinese lion and shrine guardian dog (*Karashishi-koma inu*).

All twenty panels from the throne room of Go-Mizunoo's Shishinden are securely attributed to Kano Takanobu. Several contemporary records speak of these panels. The diary of aristocrat Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi contains two 1614 references to panel paintings for the Shishinden.[17] In addition, the aforementioned 1613 memo refers specifically to Takanobu's plans to work on paintings of the Thirty-two Chinese Sages.[18]

Takanobu was not the first Kano artist to create paintings for the palace. In the mid- to late sixteenth century, several palace painting projects had been assigned to Kano artists, presumably by warrior lords who appreciated Kano painting.[19] This explains in part why Go-Yōzei, departing from the precedent that designated Tosa artists as imperial





31 Kano Takanobu. *Thirty-two Chinese Sages: Zhong Guan, Liu Yu, Tai Gongwang, and Fu Shanzhong* (right to left). Ca. 1614. Two panels from a set of sixteen panels; ink and colors on silk. Each panel 269.6 x 92.5 cm. Ninnaji, Kyoto.



32 Kano Takanobu. *Pines and Chinese Lion and Shrine Guardian Dog*. Ca. 1614. Four panels; ink and colors on silk. *Pines*: 200 x 86.1 cm; *Chinese Lion* and *Shrine Guardian Dog*: 195.8 x 94.2 cm. Ninnaji, Kyoto.

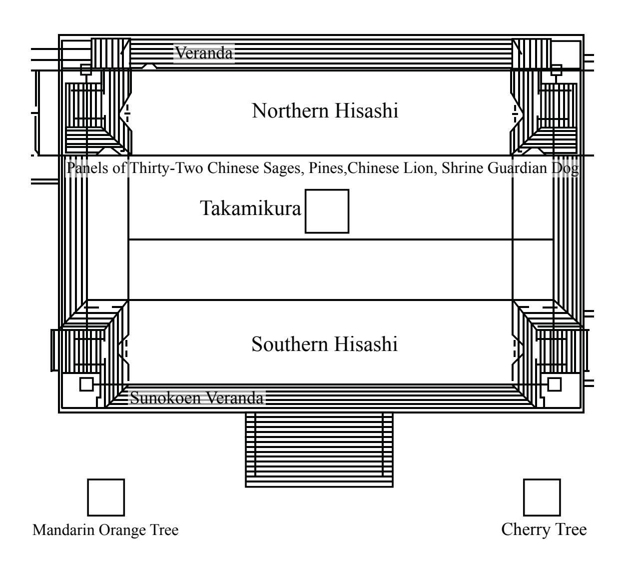


painters, selected Takanobu as a leading court artist, possibly as *edokoro azukari*. It is also possible that Eitoku had received the title of *edokoro azukari* just before this.[20] Documents do not identify exactly who if anyone held the title of *edokoro azukari* during the late sixteenth century. They do specify, however, that in 1654, about forty years after Takanobu's death, the position of director of the court painting bureau reverted to the Tosa lineage.

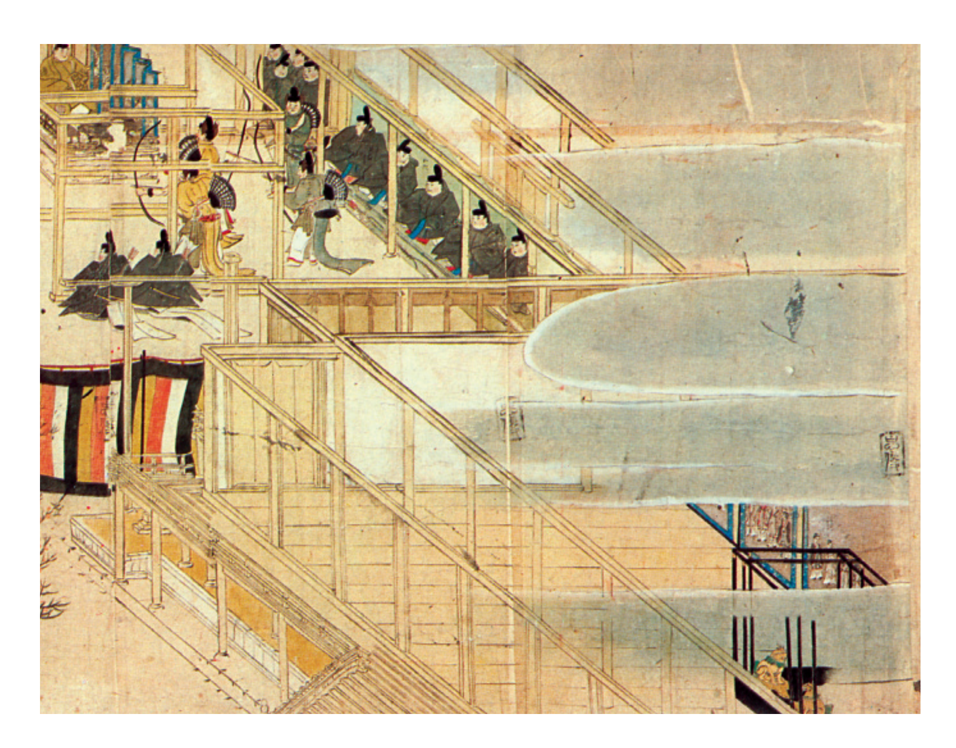
The Thirty-two Chinese Sages was a traditional theme for painting in the Shishinden of the imperial palace; yet, despite its conventionality, its political symbolism would not have been lost on seventeenth-century viewers.[21] Japanese monarchs had long sought to compare themselves with moral paragons, mostly Chinese, in token of their legitimacy. Such paintings have as their main theme good government sanctioned by the Mandate of Heaven.[22] Leaders of medieval and early modern warrior regimes sometimes saw these paintings at palace ceremonial events and certainly recognized their ideological messages. In fact, the Tokugawa eventually decided to borrow Chinese themes with political significance for their own schemes of castle painting. While imperial palaces reserved the theme of the Thirty-two Chinese Sages for the Shishinden, similar subjects such as scenes of exemplary emperors were selected for interiors of many Tokugawa structures, memorably Nagoya Castle.[23] Some of these paintings were based on images more recently imported from China, including a number derived from illustrations in Chinese printed books.[24]

Another theme that had frequently been rendered in large-scale paintings for emperors and military lords is the evergreen tree, symbolizing not only longevity and majesty but also sacredness. Venerable old pines were considered the dwelling place of deities and consequently a source of protection. This motif appeared, for example, on the walls of the Pine Tree Room of Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle. Perhaps the most memorable evergreen in surviving painting from the period is the enormous, heroic tree in the *Cypress* screen attributed to Kano Eitoku, once evidently a section of panel painting created in about 1590 (fig. 14).

Takanobu's Shishinden panels thus follow well-established themes of palace painting. The Thirty-two Chinese Sages—along with the Chinese lion and shrine guardian dog—had been selected for the Hall of State at the palace since the Heian period. These images were painted on silk, attached to wooden panels, and fixed on a long wall at the north side of the large throne room, the main chamber within the Shishinden (fig. 33). The early versions, known only from historical records, depicted Chinese sages and fantastical beasts facing south, an auspicious direction.[25] The Thirty-two Sages—arranged two per panel—form a row of standing dignitaries, presumably with each figure directing his attention toward the monarch, who on ceremonial occasions would normally be seated in the middle, just in front of the group. The figures are represented against an empty ground with no indication of a landscape or architectural setting, as if stationed at the emperor's service in a timeless realm, charged with upholding an essential, universal order. During the most important imperial ceremonies, such as accession rites, the painted sages arrayed behind the new emperor would reinforce his unimpeachable ethical stature. At the center of the row of figures in Takanobu's Shishinden paintings appear the



33 Floor plan of the Shishinden.



34 Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei. The Shishinden panels section from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Mid-17th century. Detail of scroll four in a set of handscrolls; ink and colors on paper. H. 45 cm. Private collection.



35 Sumiyoshi Jokei. The Shishinden panels from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Mid-17th century. Detail of a pair of six-panel folding screens; ink and colors on paper. Each screen 92 x 266 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

two panels of pines, along with the two panels of Chinese lion and shrine guardian dog, which symbolically promoted and protected the palace.

In the panels from Go-Mizunoo's throne room, Takanobu rendered figures and forms in a distinctive manner; the Chinese sages, for example, have volumetric modulation of ink washes and polychrome additions that are similar to effects in certain other paintings by his hand.[26] While Takanobu painted the sages with confident calligraphic brushwork, he represented the two pine trees with a calculated restraint, somewhat different from certain other evergreens painted by Kano artists. The great tree in the aforementioned *Cypress* screen attributed to Eitoku conveys an assertive vigor that earned Takanobu's father acclaim.[27] Takanobu's son, Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674), painted another famous example of pines in about 1626 for the Grand Audience Hall (Ōhiroma) of Ninomaru Palace at Nijō Castle for Tokugawa lords.[28] The shogun would entertain Go-Mizunoo and members of his immediate family in this large hall during the Kan'ei imperial visit, discussed in Chapter 6. Tan'yū's pines for the Ninomaru Ōhiroma are massive, even more muscular and assertive than the tree in the earlier *Cypress* screen. In contrast, Takanobu's two pines for Go-Mizunoo's Shishinden—painted just midway between the production of the latter two works—convey a delicate sensibility, with elegantly narrow and upright profiles.

Although Takanobu adjusted his pines to occupy a smaller, vertical composition, his trees have none of the brawny solidity or twisting contortions of the aforementioned trees ascribed to Eitoku and Tan'yū. Instead they have a gentle lyricism commonly associated with contemporary Tosa painters and Kano Mitsunobu, Takanobu's elder brother who had developed close court connections and had absorbed Tosa mannerisms. Based on this and other elements of Takanobu's style, we sense his affinity for courtly expressive refinement, along with the patron's decision that this was a style most fitting for paintings displayed in the imperial Hall of State.

The panels from Go-Mizunoo's Shishinden are rare surviving paintings by Takanobu, and even more important here, they are the oldest Shishinden panels known to survive. In 1590 Eitoku had painted a set of panels for the Shishinden of Go-Yōzei's palace, but it was lost to fire.[29] While Takanobu's set is the earliest one known to survive, Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei's copy of the twelfth-century handscrolls, *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Imperial Court* (mentioned in Ch. 1), contains a representation of the Shishinden interior with a partial view of its panels as paintings-within-a-painting (fig. 34).[30] Considered by scholars to be a faithful reproduction of the twelfth-century original, the Sumiyoshi copy provides some idea of what the panels looked like five hundred years earlier. In the lower right corner of this detail we see a number of standing figures of sages on wall panels behind the imperial throne, and although tiny, they are painted in color and appear roughly similar in size and formation to the figures painted by Takanobu. There are no panel paintings of pines or animal guardians here, however, indicating that the subjects in the central panels from Takanobu's set may have been added after the twelfth century.[31]

A nearly identical view of the Shishinden panels is also seen in a detail from a pair of six-panel screens depicting *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court* (Tokyo National Museum), which focuses on the Archery Demonstration (*noriyumi*) and the Private Banquet Festivity (*naien*). At the lower right corner of the archery scene, we encounter once again Chinese sages on Shishinden panels that are roughly similar in size and arrangement to those painted by Takanobu, again with no panels of pines or animal guardians (fig. 35).[32] The screens bear a seal reading, "Tosa Hiromichi," the name by which Sumiyoshi Jokei was known before 1661; therefore, the artist painted these at about the same time or perhaps even earlier than his scenes in the copy of the *Annual Rites* handscrolls.[33]



36 Attributed to Kano Takanobu. *Peonies*. Ca. 1614. Four panels from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each panel 178.1 x 91.5 cm. Ninnaji, Kyoto.

PEONIES AND *TANG FIGURES* FROM THE KEICHŌ PALACE

Additional fragments of panel painting that survive at Ninnaji likely derive from the Keichō Palace, helping us to reconstruct the visual program of Go-Mizunoo's palace interiors. A set of four panels of *Peonies* (*Botan-zu*) from the Ninnaji collection may originally have been segments of the flower-and-bird paintings that Takanobu painted for Go-Mizunoo's Seiryōden (fig. 36). This set apparently has belonged to the Ninnaji collection for some time and has been linked to the Keichō Palace only in recent decades.[34] The scene conveys a sedate effect of graceful tranquility and is finely executed with expensive materials. Wafting, scallop-edged clouds of gold are dotted with *moriage* relief patterns of clouds-within-clouds.

A two-panel folding screen of *Tang Figures* (*Tōjinbutsu-zu*) in the Ninnaji collection may also derive from Go-Mizunoo's Keichō Palace (fig. 37).[35] The screen captures two Chinese gentlemen and a boy servant alongside a male and a female peacock, all painted in ink and polychrome on a gold-leafed ground. The screen appears to have been cut down from a larger composition, very possibly two segments of panel painting. The 1613 memo *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe* mentions panels with figures of Chinese immortals in the Upper Chamber (Jōdan-no-ma) of Go-Mizunoo's Seiryōden, as well as in two rooms of the Tsunegoten, so this scene might actually have appeared in one of three places in the Keichō Palace. There is a long history, going back at least to the ninth century, of paintings in the Seiryōden that featured Chinese figures in landscape settings, and even though the Seiryōden of Go-Mizunoo's palace served more ceremonial functions than most earlier cases, it is certainly possible that it was decorated with scenes such as that in the two-panel screen.[36] The brushwork, modeling, and shapes of the figures bear comparison with those in the Shishinden panels, supporting an attribution to Takanobu.

The three fragments of panel painting considered here—the Shishinden panels, *Peonies*, and *Tang Figures*—indicate the characteristics of Takanobu's manner, revealing that Takanobu elaborated upon the Kano synthesis developed by Ei-



37 Attributed to Kano Takanobu. *Tang Figures*. Ca. 1614. Two-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 142 x 138.9 cm. Ninnaji, Kyoto.

toku. He absorbed the strong brushwork and enlarged forms of his father's painting, but in place of Eitoku's demonstrative flair, Takanobu opted for an elegant restraint, as did many Kano artists in the generation after Eitoku.

The 1613 memo, written before the work started, reveals that Takanobu was planning to work extensively on the painting of Go-Mizunoo's palace interiors.[37] It states that Takanobu would paint the panels for the Shishinden, along with scenes of figures and flowers-and-birds for the main rooms of the Seiryōden, Tsunegoten, and Naishidokoro (the sacred mirror repository). The record also states that Takanobu was planning to participate with a

crew of Kano assistants in creating paintings for other buildings. Based on the 1613 memo, scholars conclude that Takanobu painted panels for the Keichō Palace in 1614, by which time he had been serving for nearly two decades as the leading painter at the imperial court. The commission to paint Go-Mizunoo's palace capped a long and illustrious career.

Takanobu's primary engagement as a court painter through the last two decades of his life did not curtail warrior lords' access to him and his paintings. The Toyotomi hired Takanobu to paint a dragon on the ceiling of the Main Hall of Nanzenji during a phase of temple reconstruction sponsored by Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori. Tokugawa lords also appreciated and called on Takanobu's artistic skill. Takanobu corresponded repeatedly with Ieyasu's advisor Ishin Sūden (1569–1633), a Nanzenji priest. The correspondence—mentioned by Sūden in his *Honkō kokushi nikki* (Diary of the National Teacher Honkō)—conveys his exchanges with Takanobu near the end of the artist's life.[38] In these diary entries, Sūden praises Takanobu's skills, about which he, or Ieyasu for that matter, were in all likelihood fairly well informed, especially as the Tokugawa were sponsoring construction of Go-Mizunoo's new palace. Furthermore, in 1611 Takanobu had made the long trip to Ieyasu's castle at Sunpu with his young son Tan'yū, who would develop a strong connection with the Tokugawa lords.[39]

A significant matter that might be answered by primary sources is the level of interest of the imperial family in painting projects for palace interiors. The few available records indicate that certain imperial family members took an active interest in panel painting. For example, an entry dated to 1590 in the official journal kept by ladies-in-waiting at the court, the *Oyudononoue no nikki*, relates that Emperor Go-Yōzei had viewed Eitoku's progress on paintings for his new palace.[40] But records regarding palace panels are simply inadequate to identify precisely who made which decisions and on what basis. On the other hand, it does seem that themes and styles of painting were selected to suit the status of the occupant as well as the function of a room.[41] The occupant was not necessarily the client, however. For Go-Mizunoo's Keichō Palace, the client was a shogunal authority, or palace construction manager. If he were *edokoro azukari,* Takanobu would have been paid an annual court salary, though the funding for palace reconstruction came from the Tokugawa and regional lords.[42] Furthermore, in coming years the painting of palace interiors typically saw the Tokugawa construction supervisor play a central part in making decisions, as we will see in the cases of Tōfukumon'in's palace and the palatial quarters designed for the imperial family during their visit to Nijō Castle.

THE EMPEROR'S ROLE IN THE DEIFICATION OF IEYASU

In Go-Mizunoo's first three years living in the new palace, relations between the military leaders and the imperial court seem to have stabilized, thanks in part to Tokugawa sponsorship of the court and Go-Yōzei's enforcement of order amongst the courtiers. Now that the Tokugawa were assisting the court financially and sponsoring reconstruction of temples affiliated with the imperial family in and around Kyoto, the court leaders must have recognized the advantages in playing by Tokugawa rules. For his part, Hidetada acknowledged the value of preserving a cordial relationship with the imperial family, and based on his success at this, he elevated his own family in yet another way: he convinced Go-Mizunoo to deify his father, the first Tokugawa shogun, which was a linchpin in the Tokugawa project to legitimize the bakufu.

After Ieyasu's unexpected death in 1616, Hidetada ordered that his father's remains be buried at Kunōzan, a promontory not far from Sunpu, where a shrine, the Kunōzan Tōshōgū, was constructed in his honor. Over the next two decades, as the base of Tokugawa power expanded, Ieyasu's remains became the focus of a cult of increasing proportions, and Hidetada initiated the project to deify his father. Central to this project was the role of the emperor who, in the second month of 1617, posthu-

mously bestowed upon Ieyasu a divine name or *shingō*, read "Great Incarnation Illuminating the East" (Tōshō Daigongen).[43] With this, the spirit of the founder of the Tokugawa bakufu was said to transform into a Shinto deity and a Buddhist avatar dedicated to helping people achieve salvation.[44] Go-Mizunoo followed imperial precedent in naming Ieyasu a god; the emperor was fully aware that in 1599 his father had bestowed upon Toyotomi Hideyoshi the posthumous name "Most Bright God of our Bountiful Country" (Toyokuni Daimyōjin), as discussed in Chapter 1.

A hanging scroll with a calligraphic inscription assigned to Go-Mizunoo reading "Great Incarnation Illuminating the East," preserved in the Kunōzan Tōshōgū Museum in Shizuoka, testifies to the monarch's participation in the Ieyasu cult (fig. 38).[45] The five Chinese characters here are covered with gold foil that contrasts dramatically with the dark blue silk ground. The inscription is duplicated as a framed plaque for all visitors to see on the front of the gate to Kunōzan Tōshōgū, an early shrine dedicated to Ieyasu.

Go-Mizunoo may have bestowed the title of Tōshō Daigongen upon the former shogun in response to Ieyasu's personal request, but it was Hidetada who realized Ieyasu's apotheosis and Iemitsu, the third shogun, who would later memorialize that apotheosis in a monumental manner. Hidetada had political reasons to lobby for Ieyasu's deification. He understood the crucial contribution this would make to fabricating a Tokugawa ideology and erasing the memory of Hideyoshi's apotheosis. Soon after their victory at Sekigahara the Tokugawa demolished the remains of Hideyoshi's mausoleum in Kyoto, the Hōkoku Reibyō, or Toyokuni Shrine, ordering that the mausoleum, damaged by fire in 1610, not be rebuilt.[46] Later in 1615 the Tokugawa requested that Go-Mizunoo revoke the divine name that his father had granted Hideyoshi. Beyond that, the Tokugawa even banned popular songs that referred to Hideyoshi.

Ieyasu's deified name, Tōshō Daigongen, carries with it references to the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. The Chinese character reading "*shō*" in the title is also read "*terasu*," as in Amaterasu. As the Sun Goddess was considered the progenitor of the imperial line, the Tokugawa were suggesting that Ieyasu's spirit was equivalent, in the Shinto hierarchy, to that of the emperor. Thus, Ieyasu was deified higher than Hideyoshi had been. In addition to proclaiming the spirit of Ieyasu a deity, Go-Mizunoo participated in the production of visual markers for the worship of Ieyasu, as his father had done for the worship of Hideyoshi.

Among the markers dedicated to Ieyasu is the aforementioned hanging scroll preserved at Kunōzan Tōshōgū, which we can compare to the inscriptions by Go-Yōzei bearing Hideyoshi's divine name (figs. 18–19). These *shingō* feature Chinese characters in a single vertical column, as do numerous other "divine name" scrolls with calligraphy by aristocratic and monastic leaders of the recent past. The pieces attributed to Go-Yōzei are starkly monochromatic in contrast to the richly ornamented later work by Go-Mizunoo. Go-Yōzei's inscriptions resemble the austere Zen-style "ink traces" (*bokuseki*) of the Muromachi period, whereas the later inscription adheres to the highly decorative elaboration seen at Nikkō Tōshōgū and other new Tokugawa mausolea. As in many other instances, Go-Yōzei looked back to Muromachi-period precedents, while some works by Go-Mizunoo and members of his court expressed the opulent aesthetics of a new age. Nevertheless, all these inscriptions are magisterial, bespeaking the authority of elite traditions based on Chinese models.

In addition to soliciting Go-Mizunoo to write Ieyasu's divine name for display at Kunōzan Tōshōgū, the bakufu requested the emperor to brush pieces of calligraphy for display at other monuments dedicated to the former shogun, and Go-Mizunoo acceded to these requests.[47] Two such instances are documented in letters composed by Hidetada, corroborating that Go-Mizunoo willingly contributed to the Ieyasu cult by writing calligraphy honoring the first Tokugawa shogun.[48] Hidetada addressed the letters to Sanjōnishi Saneeda (1575–1640) and Hirohashi Kanekatsu (1558–1623), court envoys to Edo (*buke tensō*). In the first



38 Emperor Go-Mizunoo. Calligraphy reading "Tōshō Daigongen" (Great Incarnation Illuminating the East), posthumous name of the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu. 17th century. Hanging scroll; gold foil on dark blue silk ground. 81.7 x 35.1 cm. Kunōzan Tōshōgū Museum, Shizuoka.

letter Hidetada expresses gratitude for the courtiers' assistance in procuring Go-Mizunoo's calligraphy for a divine-name plaque to hang from a stone shrine gate (*torii*) that was dedicated by the warrior lord Kuroda Nagamasa (1568–1623) in 1618. In the second letter, composed sometime before 1623, Hidetada thanks the two noblemen for their help in soliciting Go-Mizunoo's calligraphy for a set of painted votive plaques of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets, meant for donation to Nikkō Tōshōgū.

Go-Mizunoo would later be asked to participate as a calligrapher on two sets of narrative handscrolls entitled *Origins of the Tōshō Shrine at Nikkō* (*Tōshōsha engi*), which recount legends surrounding Ieyasu and his shrine.[49] Go-Mizunoo only contributed to the first of the two sets, ostensibly because he was not feeling well when the second set was produced.[50] He brushed a section of text for the head fascicle in the first set; this section, entitled *Shinto no ichijiku* (The Scroll on Shinto), elaborates upon the historical import of Ieyasu's *kami* nature. The set for which he declined to write text sections included illustrations by Kano Tan'yū and is dated to 1640.[51] One detail of Tanyū's illustrations shows a procession transporting Ieyasu's remains to Nikkō in a litter (fig. 39). The litter is carried by a team of porters, who wear white robes and tall black caps like the porters pictured carrying the imperial palanquin in numerous illustrations (figs. 2b, 66). Unlike the imperial palanquin, however, the canopied litter transporting Ieyasu's remains takes a hexagonal form with a jewel ornament at the top. Although monarchs had for centuries participated in scroll-making projects by providing calligraphy—sometimes for scrolls that were hagiographic in content—the earlier instances had not involved the deification of a warrior-ruler.[52] By requesting Go-Mizunoo to write text sections for handscrolls recounting legends of Ieyasu's life, the Tokugawa again revealed the value they placed on imperial sanction and the legitimacy it could confer.

Go-Mizunoo and other aristocrats completed calligraphy for other projects with religious associations initiated by members of the Tokugawa clan and their warrior retainers. On several occasions,



39 Kano Tan'yū. *Origins of the Tōshō Shrine at Nikkō*. 1640. Detail from a set of five handscrolls; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Nikkō Tōshōgū, Nikkō.

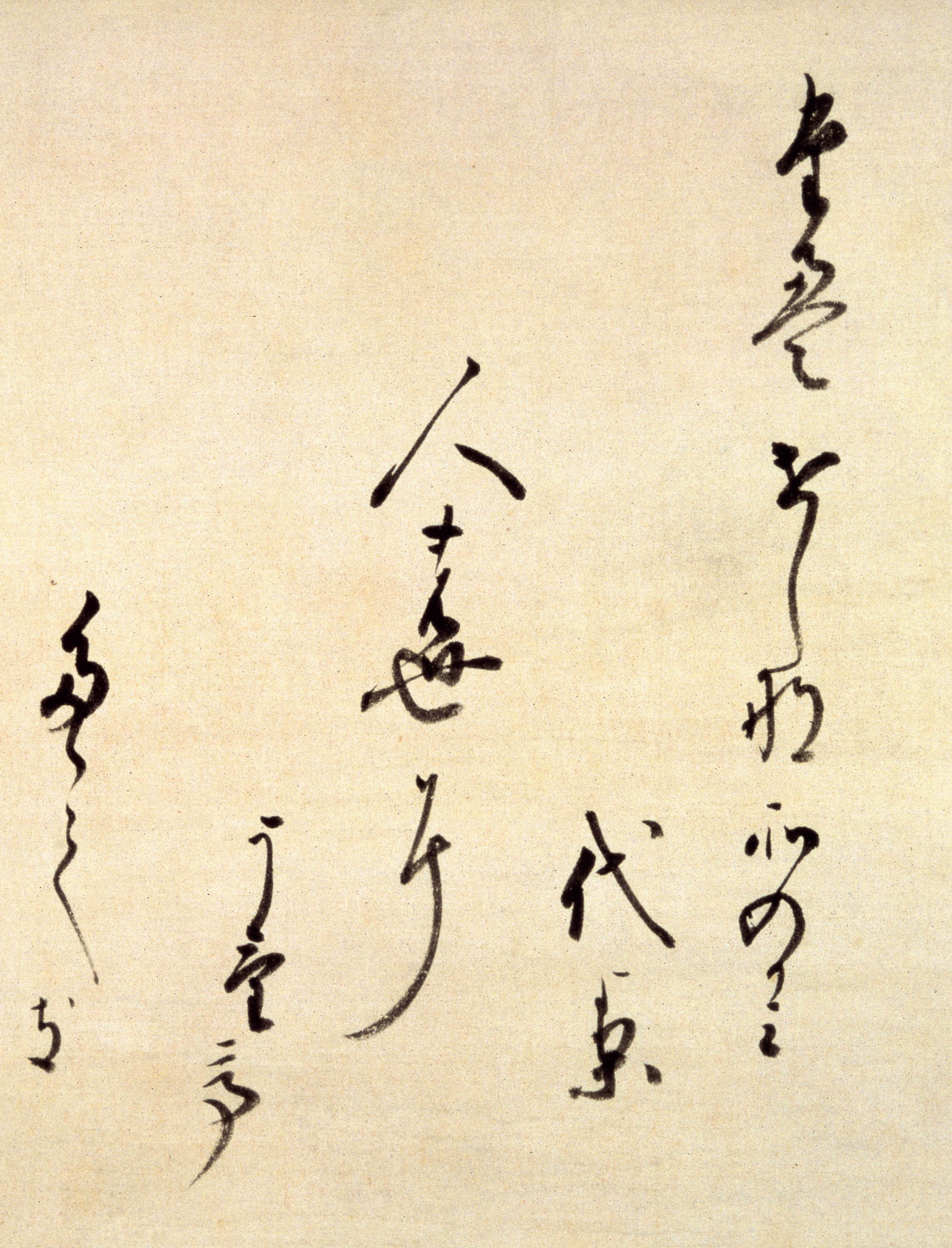
39a Kano Tan'yū. *Origins of the Tōshō Shrine at Nikkō*, detail of above.

they participated in inscribing verses on shrine tablets, which verifies that nobles continued to be appreciated for their refined calligraphy and for their access to a sanctified poetic legacy. Not only did Go-Mizunoo inscribe the aforementioned plaques for Nikkō Tōshōgū on Hidetada's request, but on Iemitsu's request Shōren'in Sonjun (1591–1653), an imperial relative and calligrapher of the Shōren'in school, contributed calligraphy to two sets of Thirty-six Poets plaques for display at shrines where Ieyasu's spirit was worshiped.[53] Emperor Go-Yōzei had established a precedent for this when by Toyotomi request he inscribed verse for the set of Thirty-six Poets plaques preserved at Hōkōji, as explained in the previous chapter. Dedicating plaques at shrines thus had traditional sacred overtones. Indeed, the identification of thirty-six famous courtiers as "Immortal Poets" points to a longstanding association between courtly versification and divine sanctification.

Even though Go-Mizunoo aided in the deification of the founder of the Edo military government, to translate this spiritual gain into a substantial political advantage for their regime remained a challenge for the Tokugawa. Presumably, Ieyasu's deification was initially aimed at an audience of the shogunal family and retainers, who were required to pay homage at the many Ieyasu shrines established around the country. Early on, ranking warriors were the only ones allowed to worship at the Tōshōgū, but the Tokugawa must have hoped that such homage would develop over time into a more widespread belief in the divine status of the bakufu's founder. Yet, who could predict whether or when the newly fashioned Ieyasu cult would ensure people's reverence for the first shogun?

We can imagine that Go-Mizunoo agreed to participate in Ieyasu's apotheosis for reasons similar to those that motivated his father to contribute to the Hideyoshi cult. By the time that Go-Mizunoo named Ieyasu a god, however, he was no longer caught between two warrior claimants to power as his father had been. The court remained vulnerable, though, perhaps even more vulnerable, once all power was concentrated in Tokugawa hands, and after his father's death in 1617, Go-Mizunoo must have recognized that to preserve his father's legacy and ensure the vitality of the court he needed to acquiesce to Tokugawa demands.

This chapter has shown that Ieyasu and Hidetada, focused as they were on subduing their remaining military rivals, carefully watched the court and generously supported the imperial family. Until the Tokugawa consolidated the bakufu, they depended on the court's cooperation in projects of legitimation. Ieyasu cultivated his connections with the court by organizing and finding funds for construction of an impressive new palace for the young Go-Mizunoo and by similar acts of patronage. The Tokugawa made many of their interests known with the 1615 Regulations, which had both positive and negative effects on the court. The Tokugawa may have intended the Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility mainly as an aid for court leaders hoping to reinvigorate their institution after years of impoverishment and scandal. But they meant the Regulations for Religious Establishments to weaken the bond between religious orders and the emperor, a bond that fostered the monarch's power. Go-Mizunoo certainly understood the interconnectedness of his religious functions and imperial authority, and he took advantage of ceremonial duties and spiritual pursuits to reinforce an imperial ideology of old, as elucidated in the next chapter.



4

Go-Mizunoo's Ritual and Cultural Agenda

In 1618, at age twenty-three, Emperor Go-Mizunoo had been on the throne for seven years, and with the death of his father in 1617, he had become the true master of the court. But now he contended with a domineering figure farther from home: the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada, who ruled until 1623. Hidetada strove to solidify the bakufu's command, including over the court and other Kyoto elites. His father, Ieyasu, had maintained regular personal contacts with aristocrats and handled the court with cautious respect; Hidetada's ties with the nobles were fewer and generally more distant. Moreover, Hidetada made clear his intention to restrict the emperor's exercise of authority outside the court. The emperor, meanwhile, sought to establish himself as a defender of the court's cultural legacy, spearheading a host of initiatives to secure the court's prestige.

New legislation issued by Hidetada in 1615 ordered the monarch to focus his efforts on the courtly arts, as previously discussed. In compliance with this, Go-Mizunoo revived imperial rites that had not been performed in centuries; he designated certain days for scholarly and antiquarian activities at the palace; he sponsored lectures on esteemed poetry and traditional literature in the vernacular; and he commissioned works of art with connections to the courtly past. Although Go-Mizunoo was fortunate to oversee the *dairi* in a phase of reinvigoration, he could not have been pleased that the 1615 legislation effectively proscribed political activity for the imperial household. Furthermore, other rules enacted by the bakufu, the Regulations for Religious Establishments, weakened bonds between the imperial court and religious orders, proving a source of real institutional and financial difficulty for Go-Mizunoo.

Even though emperors had been manipulated by military lords for centuries, Go-Mizunoo and ranking aristocrats of his day must have considered it presumptuous, if not outright insulting, for a warrior to dictate to the emperor about court protocol and religious affiliations. Nevertheless, as far as we can tell from records, the 1615 Regulations brought little immediate outcry from the court. Time and again over the next several years, the Tokugawa encroached on the court's prerogatives, but usually with minimal overt response from the nobles. Despite his outward reserve, however, Go-Mizunoo was not disconnected from his role; instead, he was actively engaged in shoring up imperial authority, working mainly to revitalize the symbolic and spiritual dimensions of the monarch's position.

The authority of the monarch had long hinged on a claim to inherited sacred status, which was the origin and fundament of the imperial ideology of old. This chapter examines how Go-Mizunoo emulated his father, making use of the complex round of annual rites and the religious associations of emperors to revive ancient notions of sanctified imperial power. It addresses the ways that Go-Mizunoo

Emperor Go-Mizunoo. Poem on the theme of felicitations, detail of fig. 43.

used works of visual and literary art, along with various cultural pursuits, to express and promote his ideas about imperial ideology. Go-Mizunoo continued to sponsor the various ceremonial and cultural events that his father had hosted at the palace, but he also extended upon Go-Yōzei's support of a few painters, notably Kano Takanobu and Kaihō Yūshō. Go-Mizunoo began cultivating a range of artists, and eventually proved himself much more influential than his father as a patron of the arts.

THE COURT'S OBSERVANCE OF ANNUAL RITES AND CEREMONIES

A key task of each emperor was to oversee the court's round of annual rites and ceremonies, or *nenjū gyōji*, following an established timetable. These rituals and festivities—which had been observed for centuries, albeit with interruptions during the Age of the Country at War—reveal the value placed on continuity at court.[1] The rituals served as a regular sequence of events that signaled the monarch's well-being and the court's adherence to precedent. The court observances wove together religious and political concerns to create an ideological framework within which the emperor played a vital role in ensuring predictability in an otherwise unpredictable world. Furthermore, it was believed that the emperor's prayers and offerings on behalf of the welfare of his people had particular efficacy, if only because of his direct descent from the gods.[2]

Court observances were integrated into a systematic calendar early in Japanese history, when they were meant to guarantee agricultural prosperity by means of such acts as purification and offering thanks. The early court ritual calendar was based on two unrelated beliefs: in the existence of ancestral spirits and in the creative powers of rice spirits; these beliefs merged early in history.[3] The Ritsuryō Code of 757 prescribed thirteen types of state rituals in which the participation of imperial sovereigns was mandatory. In the Engi era (901–922) the court issued a calendar that served essentially as a code of national laws known as the *Engi shiki* (Procedures of the Engi Era), which included the seasonal sequence of *nenjū gyōji*.[4]

A large free-standing screen displayed at the palace simply listed the annual rites, indicating their centrality to court functions.[5] Traditionally, the screen was placed in a corridor connecting the Shishinden and the Seiryōden, near the heart of the palace. The original version of this screen—created by ranking nobleman Fujiwara Mototsune (836–891)—listed more than two hundred events conducted at court.[6]

In addition to state ceremonies and celebration days with offerings made to the gods, the court rituals included personal rites for the emperor, festivals held at shrines, and cultural events such as sumo matches and poetry gatherings. While many of the court ceremonies were based on ancient native agricultural celebrations, others derived from Chinese court observance. Some rites—181 of which came to be celebrated each year at the Edo-period court—were imbued with religious connotations clear to a majority of observers, others were filled with arcane details, and yet others had a mixture of both. In fact, a number of the ceremonies might have seemed so antiquated that they merely upheld tradition for tradition's sake; tradition, however, represented continuity, which was highly valued. Among the religious festivities and seasonal observances were a number that expressed the emperor's sacred status. One rite that clearly demonstrated a continued reverence for the spiritual power of the imperial person was the "Presenting of Hair" (*migushiage*), which entailed burning the monarch's cut-off hair, finger nails, and toe nails gathered over the course of a year.[7]

COPYING THE SCROLLS OF *ANNUAL RITES AND CEREMONIES*

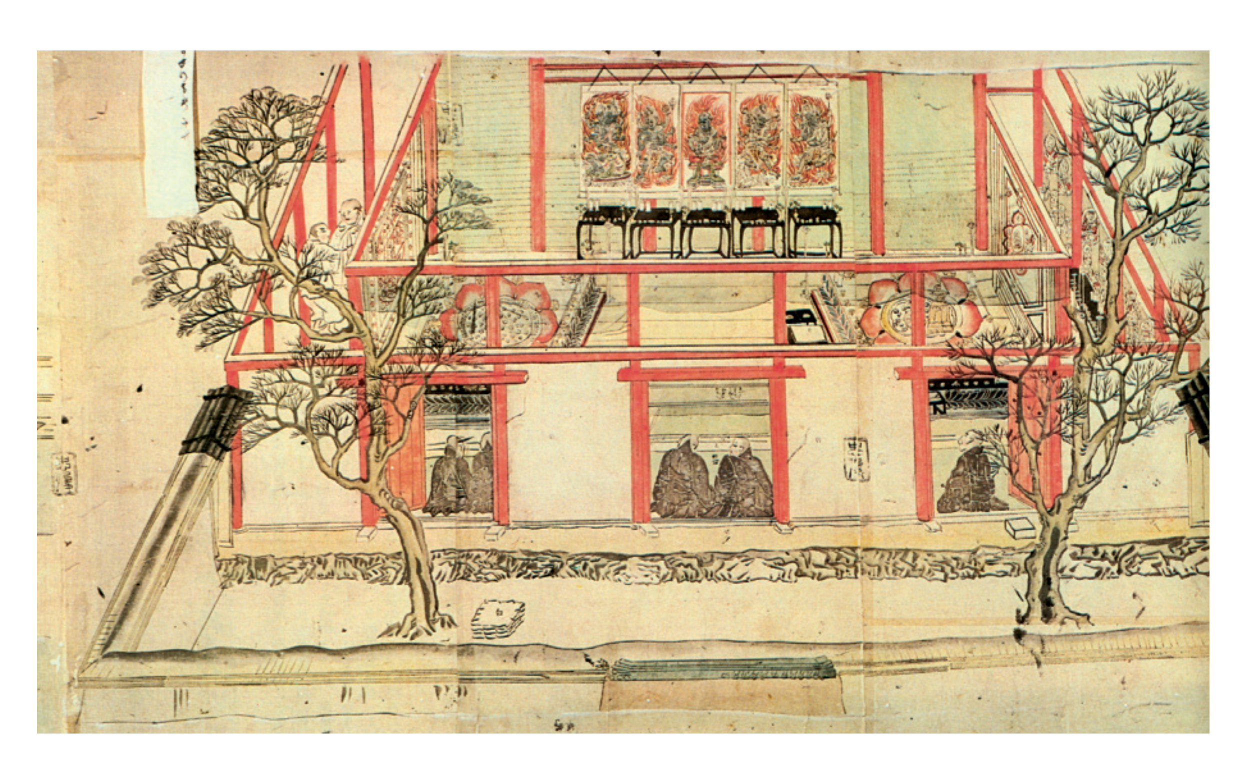
Court rituals of the New Year had been particularly important since early in Japanese history, with the appointment of new officials and a banquet for nobles proclaiming the emperor's sacerdotal function of launching the New Year and spreading virtue

throughout the land. The *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court* handscrolls, copied on Go-Mizunoo's order from an original twelfth-century set of painted handscrolls, has a preponderance of New Year's rites. Indeed, the first scene in this copy of the handscrolls is a New Year's scene: the aforementioned 1163 trip of Emperor Nijō to see his father, retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (fig. 3). Go-Shirakawa had commissioned the original handscrolls, in tandem with reviving a number of ceremonies, following the devastations of the Hōgen and Heiji Rebellions of the mid-twelfth century.[8] In addition Go-Shirakawa added the handscrolls to his collection of art stored in the Treasure Repository (Hōzō) of Rengeōin (Sanjūsangendō) in Kyoto, a collection that is recognized as contributing to his cultural hegemony as retired emperor.

Sometime in the mid-seventeenth century Go-Mizunoo commissioned Sumiyoshi Jokei and his son Gukei, two leading artists affiliated with the palace, to produce copies of the fifteen surviving scrolls from the set. This they did, producing seven scrolls in polychrome and nine in ink monochrome.[9] According to an artist's inscription at the end of the first scroll in the set, Go-Mizunoo sponsored the copy and ordered the Sumiyoshi family to preserve it as a family treasure. In addition, the inscription states that Go-Mizunoo considered the set useful to members of the court, presumably as a visual record of the core traditions of court ritual.[10] The inscription, apparently written by Jokei soon after the original scrolls were burned in the palace fire of 1661, attests to Go-Mizunoo's authorization of the Sumiyoshi family keeping this one surviving set. Possibly Go-Mizunoo authorized Jokei and his son to keep their copy of the handscrolls, instead of the emperor taking it for the imperial collection, because he knew that they were receiving requests to create additional paintings based on scenes in the scrolls.[11] Go-Mizunoo also likely concluded that the more such scenes were in circulation, the better for reinforcing court status.

The Sumiyoshi handscrolls convey a great deal about ceremonial activities and religious rites that reinforced the imperial ideology. The scrolls tell us, for example, that some ceremonies were enacted by members of the populace at large. The scrolls illustrate several events that commoners took part in, including a scene of the mid-summer ritual at Kyoto's Gion Shrine (fig. 4). The scene, appearing in one of the monochrome scrolls, features a procession of performers and shrine palanquins, along with townspeople watching from the sides of city streets. The Gion procession is the main event of a Kyoto festival that was originated in the ninth century by Emperor Seiwa as an exorcism ritual to placate the plague-causing deity and "king of the devas" (J: Gozu Tennō, S: Gavagriva). At its outset, the Gion Festival had demonstrated the emperor's ability to intercede in the spirit world on behalf of the populace to ensure good health for residents of Kyoto. By the seventeenth century, however, the Gion Festival was being sponsored by Kyoto merchants and artisans.[12] That the monarch came to play a secondary part in this and certain other annual rites did not diminish the sacredness of his role; he was understood to be responsible for maintaining the prescribed sequence of ceremonial events and thus ensuring the blessings of the gods.

Go-Mizunoo worked both on and off the throne to reinstate a number of imperial rites that had not been performed at the palace in some time. He further revealed his commitment to restoring the court calendar in his commentary, the *Tōji nenjū gyōji* (Annual Rites and Ceremonies of Our Day). In the preface to this commentary Go-Mizunoo conveyed his regret that some court rites had fallen out of use and expressed his desire to restore these and other ancient customs.[13] In composing the *Tōji nenjū gyōji*, Go-Mizunoo relied upon regulations written centuries earlier, specifically those drafted in 1213 by Emperor Juntoku.[14] It is likely that bakufu leaders also referred to Juntoku's code when they wrote the 1615 Regulations for the Palace and the Nobility. Moreover, the Tokugawa likely referred to Juntoku's code in composing their own ceremonies. The Tokugawa began establishing rituals to legitimize their regime during the early decades of the seventeenth century, and what better place to turn for models than the venerated code of court rites.[15]



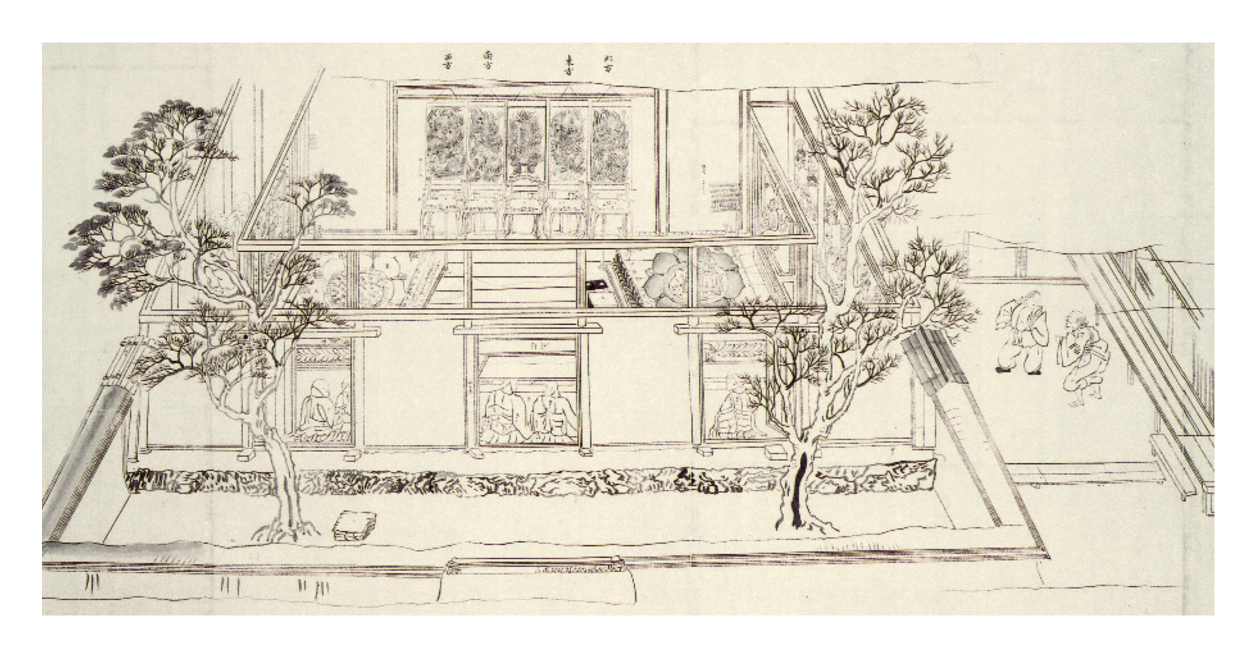
40 Sumiyoshi Jokei and Gukei. *Imperial Rite of the Second Seven Days of the New Year* from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Mid-17th century. Detail of scroll six in a set of handscrolls; ink and colors on paper. H. 45 cm. Private collection.

REVIVAL OF AN ESOTERIC BUDDHIST NEW YEAR'S RITE

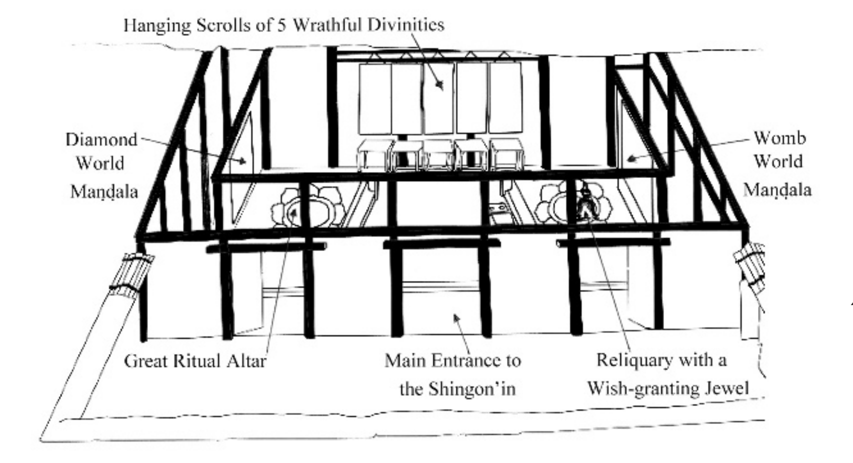
One significant case illustrates Go-Mizunoo's interest in restoring ceremonies with religious dimensions: his revival of the "Imperial Rite of the Second Seven Days of the New Year" (*goshichinichi mishuhō* or *mishihō*, shortened here to *mishuhō*), the most secret and potent service conducted at court by priests of the Esoteric Shingon sect.[16] The renowned priest Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi; 774–835), who introduced Shingon Buddhism from China in the early ninth century, is thought to have initiated *mishuhō* practice at the court.[17] Kūkai conceived of the *mishuhō* not only as a rite empowering the monarch, but also as one facet of a plan to make Esoteric Buddhism inextricable from notions of legitimate imperial rule, notions that Go-Mizunoo inherited.

The *mishuhō* ritual came to be practiced by generations of emperors, who were thus identified as universal Buddhist monarchs or "wheel-turning kings" (J: *tenrin-shōō*; S: *cakravartin*). According to precepts that emerged with early Buddhism in India, the *cakravartin* is an ideal ruler who strives to help all sentient beings in reaching enlightenment, thus supporting the "wheel of the dharma," or teachings of the Buddha. The *mishuhō* had fallen out of practice in the Age of the Country at War, and Go-Mizunoo's revival of the rite in 1623 was a conscious attempt to restore one aspect of the imperial ideology of old. In this effort Go-Mizunoo had the cooperation of the aristocratic Shingon priest Gien (1558–1626), abbot (*zasu*) of Daigoji and head priest (*chōja*) of Tōji.[18]

An illustration of *mishuhō* is found at the end of the sixth polychrome scroll in the Sumiyoshi copy of the *Annual Rites* handscrolls (fig. 40). It shows priests conducting the *mishuhō* service within the Shingon'in (Imperial Mantra Chapel), a building located in the palace compound directly west of the imperial residence.[19] Fourteen priests of the Shin-



41 Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki. *Imperial Rite of the Second Seven Days of the New Year* from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*. Late 18th century. Detail of scroll eleven in a set of handscroll; ink and light colors on paper. H. 46.2 cm. Tokyo University of the Arts.



42 Diagram based on the Shingon'in in the *Imperial Rite of the Second Seven Days of the New Year* from the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*.

gon sect conducted the *mishuhō* under the supervision of their ranking prelate, the abbot of the great Kyoto temple of Tōji (officially Kyōōgokokuji, or "Nation-Protecting Temple of the King of Teachings"). Held over the course of seven days in the first month of the year (and described in further detail below), the *mishuhō* occurred in conjunction with another prestigious Buddhist service for the New Year, the "Rites of the Latter Seven Days" (*misai-e*), also pictured in the Sumiyoshi handscrolls.[20]

The *misai-e* had been established at court about 766 and was conducted in the Daigokuden at the palace. It included recitations and sermons by ranking clergy from major Buddhist schools on the *Golden Light Sutra of Victorious Kings* (J: *Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō*; S: *Suvarṇa prabhāsa sūtra*), considered

one of three vital Buddhist texts for defending virtuous rulers and preserving the nation.[21] In Japan this sutra had been central to Buddhist-state ideology since the seventh century, when Emperor Tenmu read in it "a doctrine of kingship based on merit achieved in former existences and through wholehearted support of Buddhism."[22] The *misai-e* promised that myriad deities and demons would protect any ruler who adhered to the Buddha's teachings, as explained in the *Golden Light Sutra*. The sutra also expounded the ideal of a *cakravartin*, or universal Buddhist monarch.

Kūkai, founder of Tōji, likely augmented the *misai-e* with the *mishuhō*. Recent scholarship argues that Kūkai advocated adopting the *mishuhō*, claiming that *misai-e* services were not adequate for protecting the nation.[23] For Kūkai the *mishuhō* was also necessary because it demonstrated the power of wish-granting jewels (J: *nyoi hōju*; S: *cintāmaṇi*), which embodied the wisdom of enlightened beings. Kūkai taught that the leader of the state should fulfill the *cakravartin*'s duty by caring for the Buddha's bodily remains, or relics, which survive in the form of wish-granting jewels.[24] Early in Kūkai's life the imperial regime had relied upon borrowed Tang-period administrative practices and laws (*ritsuryō*), which confined Buddhist activity to the needs of a ruling Confucian ideology. Kūkai labored with much success to change the balance in favor of Shingon, and aspects of this new balance survived at court in Go-Mizunoo's day, demonstrating the continued centrality of Buddhism to the imperial ideology.

The design of the Shingon'in chapel, as illustrated in the Sumiyoshi copy of the *Annual Rites* handscrolls, generally conforms to an early plan. Furthermore, the selection and placement of icons within the Shingon'in appear to accurately follow early standards. The illustration adheres to a textual description of the 1142 service given in the *Eiji ninen Shingon'in mishuhō-ki* (Diary of the *Mishuhō* at the Imperial Mantra Chapel in the Second Year of Eiji), in which the Shingon'in is described as rectangular with an interior focus on the north wall.[25] The scene of *mishuhō* in the Sumiyoshi handscrolls shows the Shingon'in with "blown away roof" (*fukinuki yatai*), allowing us a view from above into the prayer hall.

A later version of the *mishuhō* scene, found in a late eighteenth-century copy of the *Annual Rites* handscrolls, provides mainly monochrome contours and thus conveys even more clearly the details of the ceremonial setting (fig. 41).[26] We see seated priests in the outer chamber, and in the inner chamber a group of altar tables dedicated to five divinities on the wall opposite the main entrance, along with two large paintings facing each other on the side walls, partially obscured by tree branches. Although these details of paintings-within-a-painting are diminutive, certain features are clear (fig. 42).

More specifically, five hanging scrolls appear on the Shingon'in north wall with one painting for each of five wrathful divinities, known as Wisdom Kings (J: Myōō; S: Vidyārāja), who are surrounded by tongues of flame. The central figure is the "Immovable One" (J: Fudō; S: Ācalanātha or Ācala), chief among the Wisdom Kings. In Esoteric Buddhist practice Fudō is recognized as the messenger or the personification of the central Shingon deity, Dainichi Nyorai (literally, "Great Sun Buddha"; S: Mahāvairocana). The two large paintings that face each other at the right and left sides of the inner chamber are mandalas: the *Womb World Mandala* (J: *Taizōkai mandara*; S: *Garbhadhātu*) to the east and the *Diamond World Mandala* (J: *Kongōkai mandara*; S: *Vajradhātu*) to the west. In front of each mandala is a great ritual altar (*daidan*).

Each year, the abbot of Tōji presented prayers at one of the great mandala altars, alternating between the two. The abbot placed a reliquary (*sharitō*) holding a wish-granting jewel atop the altar chosen for that year. Although not represented as a figural icon, the southern Buddha of the Diamond World (J: Hōshō; S: Ratnasambhava) is the main deity of worship in the *mishuhō* service, and he is thought to manifest in the form of the wish-granting jewel. In the illustration from the Sumiyoshi handscrolls, a golden stupa-shaped reliquary holding the jewel appears near the center of the altar at right, and two platforms are visible in front of that altar, one meant as the seat of the abbot and the other meant for the

imperial robes, as well as for a vessel containing water for consecrating the robes.

The wish-granting jewel is central to the larger meaning of the *mishuhō* scene and reveals the political value associated with Kūkai's Esoteric Buddhist doctrine at the imperial court. As the scholar of religious history Brian Ruppert explains, "The court, perhaps responding in part to the belief in the powers of relics among the general populace, increasingly associated Buddha relics with objects invoking the person and authority of the emperor."[27] At the conclusion of services at the Shingon'in, the abbot sprinkled scented water on the monarch's robes, water that was said to have absorbed the power of the wishing-granting jewel during the previous days' rituals. In conjunction, the abbot recited the following:

> We sincerely express our vow:
> May this empowerment of the scented water
> Manifest its great divine power
> Protect His Majesty, our *cakravartin* (*shōō*)
> Remove all misfortune from his throne
> Guard his life, guard his health
> Make his boundless wishes of compassion
> Realize themselves completely
> Make his palace safe and secure
> Have the people of the palace enjoy peace
> Under heaven, everywhere in the universe
> May all beings equally share this merit![28]

The emperor then donned the ritually anointed robes, following which the abbot sprinkled water directly on the imperial person, symbolically empowering the emperor as *cakravartin* and affirming his status as leading protector of Buddhism in the realm.

Conducted annually at the New Year from the time of Kūkai into the fifteenth century, the *mishuhō* was one of three ceremonies in which the *Golden Light Sutra* was recited to validate the emperor's role as a Buddhist king. Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that concurrent with the decline in imperial fortunes in the fifteenth century, the *mishuhō* was abandoned.[29] In the early seventeenth century, however, interest in the ritual arose at the Shingon center of Mount Kōya. Soon after this, in 1623, Go-Mizunoo saw to a revival of the *mishuhō*, with the cooperation of the Shingon cleric Gien.[30] By this time, Gien had been a leading Kyoto figure for several decades, having connections with Hideyoshi and Ieyasu and more extensive connections with the court aristocracy. As the son of former chancellor Nijō Hareyoshi (1526–1579), he had hailed from a courtier clan, and in his diary Gien repeatedly favors upholding the hierarchies and customs of the court.[31] Gien, who persuaded the Tokugawa to assist in the revival of Shingon, was the leading officiant (*daiajari*) at the first *mishuhō* ordered and authorized by Go-Mizunoo.[32]

Being a reproduction of a twelfth-century original, the Sumiyoshi handscrolls can hardly give a literal picture of Go-Mizunoo's ceremonial and ritual life, but the emperor was clearly familiar with and probably inspired by the scroll set. It seems likely that the *mishuhō* scene in the handscrolls of annual rituals suggested to Go-Mizunoo and Gien the physical accoutrements and their placement for the rite. Go-Mizunoo's sponsorship of the copy and his revival of the *mishuhō* are equal evidence of his desire to strengthen imperial authority, which the copy did through the weight of precedence of the original set, and the religious ritual accomplished through its sanction of the emperor as *cakravartin*.

The *mishuhō* rite reveals how Buddhism could reinforce claims that emperors held legitimate political power deriving from divine sources, but it is just one of many indications that the imperial ideology of old drew on spiritual notions. The monarch was thought to call upon both Buddhist and Shinto divinities for aid, which constituted a significant dimension of his sacred authority and explains his numerous connections with religious institutions, but as we will see the Tokugawa were not enthusiastic about endorsing such connections.

RELIGIOUS PREROGATIVES OF A DIVINE MONARCH

Buddhist institutions had long enjoyed close ties with the imperial household, and Go-Mizunoo labored to preserve these ties in the face of the constraints that Tokugawa shoguns imposed on the religious orders and the imperial household. Following his father's practices, Go-Mizunoo associated with clerics of Shingon, Tendai, Jōdo, and Rinzai Zen temples, and he initiated new support for clerics of Ōbaku Zen. He frequently invited representatives of these sects to the palace to lecture on Buddhist teachings. In addition, Go-Mizunoo maintained the long-standing imperial practice of sending unmarried sons and daughters to temples and convents affiliated with the court; many of his thirty-six children took Buddhist vows and became *monzeki* monks or nuns. Moreover, the emperor and members of his family donated funds, valuables, and buildings to temples overseen by friendly priests.[33]

In 1651, over twenty years after abdicating, Go-Mizunoo took Buddhist vows, which allowed him to assume the mantle of the "Dharma Emperor" (*hōō*).[34] Immediately after the death of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, Go-Mizunoo took the tonsure and received the name Enjō Dōkaku Hōō. Likened to the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, who had relinquished his claim to the throne to devote himself to a higher calling, imperial leaders were understood to advance in status as Dharma Emperors. Typically, Dharma Emperors assumed an attitude of remove from the world, cloistering themselves in a monastery, but in actuality they tended to oversee the entire Buddhist community and represent the Buddhist institution in state affairs. Go-Mizunoo was atypical in one regard: he chose to live at the retirement palace adjacent to the *dairi* in central Kyoto. From here he exercised his power to preserve the influence of the imperial family, like the cloistered emperors of earlier periods.

The Tokugawa also maintained ties with Buddhist establishments, although early Edo-period shoguns applied pressure on Buddhist institutions by sanctioning sects that adhered to bakufu dictates and restricting or banning others. The Tokugawa shoguns were not consistent in their policies; at times they acted to subjugate Buddhism, at other times to support it.[35] The first Edo-period shogun had a number of friends and confidants amongst the priestly contingent of Kyoto. Two of Ieyasu's leading advisors were the Buddhist priests Ishin Sūden (1569–1633) and Nankōbō Tenkai (1536?–1643). Sūden, a Rinzai Zen priest of Nanzenji, assisted in the production of Ieyasu's correspondence regarding legislation and diplomacy from 1608 on.

Tenkai, a Tendai priest of the Sannō tradition, formulated many aspects of Tokugawa ideology, laboring into the 1640s to transform a regime that had established its dominance on the battlefield into one that claimed a sanctified mission. Under Tenkai the doctrine of Ichijitsu Sannō Shinto, one of the syncretic systems that incorporated worship of Japanese *kami* into the Buddhist pantheon, came to serve as a bulwark for the legitimacy of the military regime founded by Ieyasu and a means to "ensure that the Tokugawa house would rule Japan forever."[36] In addition, Tenkai may have attempted to bring the imperial institution under the auspices of Ichijitsu Sannō Shinto.[37]

The imperial family maintained its affiliation with Shinto, and this still clearly proclaimed an imperial connection with the divine realm. Central to the religious role of emperors in ancient Japan was the claim that the imperial line had descended from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. The *Nihon shoki* (mentioned in Ch. 2) recounts an early version of the founding legend of Japan, and tells of the first human sovereign, Emperor Jinmu, who was the direct descendant of Amaterasu.[38] The Sun Goddess was thus identified as the progenitor of the imperial line.

Early emperors had served an essential role in Shinto practice; in fact, the early tenth-century *Engi shiki* explains that the emperor was to worship 3,132 deities (*saijin*) at 2,801 Shinto shrines around the country.[39] At the solemn Great New Food Festival (*daijōsai*), conducted in private at one of the first harvests of a monarch's reign, he offered rice and wine to the Sun Goddess, and thus established him-

self as Son of Heaven.[40] As her high priest, the emperor preserved human ties with the Sun Goddess; as her living descendent, he was imbued with a sense of divinity. People in early Japan possibly viewed the emperor as a divine being only during his enactment of rituals.[41] Thus, even though emperors were referred to early on as gods (*kami*), living gods (*akitsu mikami*) or august beings (*mikoto*), they were perhaps seen as essentially human and not divine.

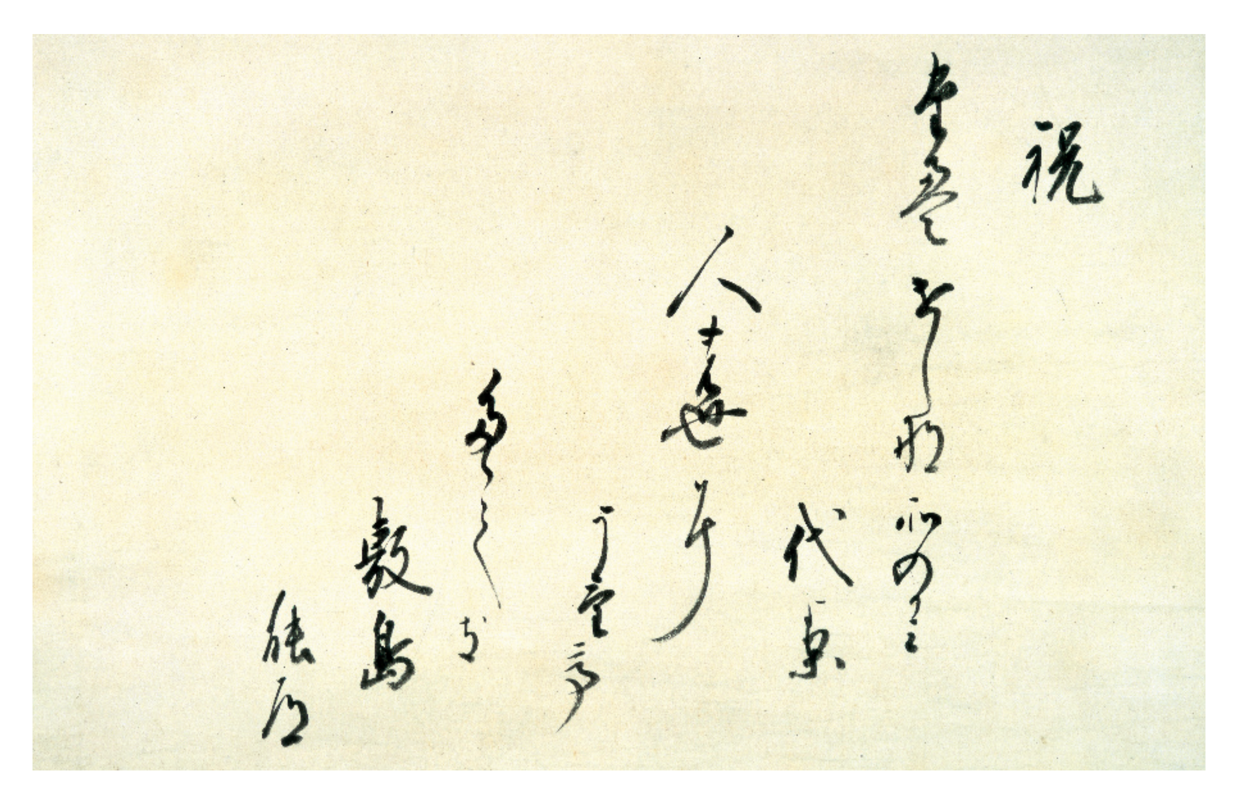
In the medieval period, however, notions of the emperor as a sacred being evolved in conjunction with maturing views of Japan as the "land of the *kami*" (*shinkoku*).[42] According to "land of the *kami*" theory, presented for example in the *Jinnō shōtō-ki* (Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors) by nobleman Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), Japan was a sacred realm protected by the gods and continuously ruled by an unbroken lineage descended from the Sun Goddess. The ultimate expression of "land of the *kami*" theory proposes that the emperor was not alone in tracing his ancestry to the gods; others in the land had supposedly descended from the gods as well.[43]

Notions of the emperor's sacrality evolved even further. Theorists of Esoteric Buddhism began to associate Amaterasu with Dainichi Nyorai, also known as the "Great Sun Buddha" and the supreme being worshipped in Esoteric Buddhism. As the religious historian Toshio Kuroda states, "the emperor acquired a pronounced ideality indistinguishable from that of a divine being; the impoverished foundations of this concept were shored up through explanations related to the mystical power of the Three Divine Regalia": the mirror, sword, and jewel.[44] Supposedly Amaterasu bestowed the regalia on Ninigi, her grandson, and early emperors passed these objects down through the generations as requisite emblems of rulership. With the evolution of medieval thought, Ise Grand Shrine (Ise Jingū)—a complex of religious sites in Mie Prefecture with an Inner Shrine (*naikū*) dedicated to Amaterasu—became vital to the intersection of religious faith, state politics, and imperial rule.[45] Notwithstanding that Shinto worship was largely a matter of tribute paid on a local level to hundreds of native deities, there was also a national focus for Shinto at Ise Grand Shrine, which was crucial to justifications for imperial rule. It will be recalled that Ieyasu's advisor Tenkai had even proposed the relocation of the monarch and his court to Ise.

Reflecting the continued significance of "land of the *kami*" faith in the early modern period was the imperial ritual of daily prayers to Ise Shrine and the divine regalia. The emperor made these appeals each morning in one room of his residential quarters in the Seiryōden, a room that contained a mortared platform known as the "Lime Altar" (*ishibaidan*). The emperor directed his prayers toward the Inner Sanctum of the palace (Naishidokoro) where a replica of one of the three regalia, the sacred mirror associated with the Sun Goddess, was housed.[46]

Thus, according to the "land of the *kami*" theory, Japan was protected by the gods and the Buddhas because it had been ruled continuously by emperors who descended from the Sun Goddess. In hybrid Shinto-Buddhist practice, native Japanese gods were associated one-to-one with Buddhist deities, and the Sun Goddess was paired with the central divinity of Esoteric Buddhism, Dainichi Nyorai. Both were conceived of as powerful solar deities and were the focus of their respective cults. Imperial rites associated the monarch with the two deities; for example, enthronement ceremonies for Emperor Fushimi in 1287 had the new emperor form a hand gesture (*mudra*) magically connecting himself with Dainichi and Amaterasu.[47]

Syncretic elements were integrated into imperial sponsorship of restoration of Ise Shrine. Traditionally structures at Ise Shrine had been rebuilt every twenty years, a practice that historians refer to as the "regular removal" of Ise Grand Shrine (*shikinen sengū*). Reconstruction had been impossible during the prolonged Age of the Country at War, however, and the shrine had fallen into disrepair. The "regular removal" of Ise Grand Shrine was revived in the late sixteenth century thanks in large part to the fund-raising nuns of Keikōin, a syncretic center in Ise.[48] In appreciation for these fund-raising efforts, the emperor bestowed the title of "Eminent Nun" (*shōnin*) on Keikōin's abbess.[49]



43 Emperor Go-Mizunoo. Poem on the theme of felicitations. 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 30.5 x 45 cm. Gyobutsu–Imperial Collections (Imperial Properties). Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.

Go-Mizunoo is known to have communicated with the Keikōin abbess Shūtei Shōnin (mid-17th century), asking her to pray for the safety of the country and for the long life of his reign.[50]

THE EMPEROR AS PATRON OF LITERATURE

In addition to his revival of ancient court rituals, Go-Mizunoo, while still in his early twenties, emerged as a dedicated sponsor of courtly pursuits, many of which preserved the religious and political associations of his father's activities. His interests were eclectic, including the restoration of early literary forms. He read the classics of literature, religion, and scholarship, lectured on them, and called lecturers to the palace to offer instruction on a range of topics.[51] Go-Mizunoo sponsored poetry gatherings, and like most emperors before him, he was also an ardent poet.[52]

The principal verse form in which Go-Mizunoo composed was, without doubt, the long-venerated Japanese *waka*. A *waka* on the theme of felicitations (*iwai*) exemplifies his verse (fig. 43). Written in Go-Mizunoo's distinctive hand, and mounted as a hanging scroll found today in the Imperial Household Collection, it reads:

Taeseshina
sono kamiyo yori
hito no yo ni
ukete tadashiki
shikishima no michi

May it endure forever,
passed down faithfully
from the age of the gods
to the world of men—
the way of Japanese poetry.[53]

This poem scroll carries several layers of signifi-

cance. It mentions that the "way" of poetry had emerged during the "age of the gods," alluding to the fact that aristocrats had long been composing *waka* and implying a link between the emperor and the gods. As we have seen, ancient beliefs held that the emperor was the only person able to ministrate to the divine imperial ancestors who lived during the age of the gods, and this gives iconic status to Go-Mizunoo's poetic inscription. Furthermore, the emperor conveyed a message of imperial prestige whenever he brushed his own *waka*. Indeed, a monarch's handwriting was a visual marker of his unparalleled elite status. Here and elsewhere Go-Mizunoo acknowledged, as did previous leaders of the court, that literary forms were traditionally deployed in the pursuit of power.

Go-Mizunoo first studied poetry under his uncle Konoe Nobutada and later under two literary masters of high court rank: his uncle Hachijōnomiya Toshihito and the eminent scholar Nakanoin Michimura (1587/88–1653). The ultimate step in Go-Mizunoo's *waka* training came when Toshihito initiated him into the secret traditions (*denju*) of verse. Most treasured of these secret transmissions was the *Kokin denju*, which comprised commentary on the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the tenth-century *Kokinshū*. Go-Mizunoo was awarded his credentials in the *Kokin denju*—presumably after a prolonged period of study with Toshihito—on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of 1625, when he was thirty years old, as he relates in a letter to the courtier Hino Sukekatsu (1577–1639).[54] Possibly Go-Mizunoo composed the poem on the theme of gratitude to celebrate that honor.[55] Toshihito also wrote a poem of thanks and offered it to Sumiyoshi-myōjin, the Shinto god of Sumiyoshi Shrine and divine patron of poets.

Following the example of earlier emperors, Go-Mizunoo created collections of his own verse. Two collections of his poems are the *Ōsōshū* (Collection of the Seagull's Rookery) and the *Go-Mizunoo'in gyoshū* (Collection of Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo).[56] A number of these poems appear in extant *waka kaishi* scrolls, with the emperor's original verse and calligraphy. The Imperial Household Collection has several poem scrolls with Go-Mizunoo's calligraphy on subjects ranging from "Beating Robes by the Sea Shore" to "Celebratory Words on the Presentation of New Herbs at the New Year."[57] In addition Go-Mizunoo often inscribed famous *waka* of old, including the aforementioned poems inscribed on shrine plaques, which reveal that court leaders were still respected as heirs to a sanctified legacy of verse and that imperial calligraphy in a sense "consecrated" a poem.

Also a poetry scholar, Go-Mizunoo became a specialist on traditions of versification. He recited and commented on revered collections of *waka*, including the twelfth-century *Hyakunin isshu*, edited by the thirteenth-century poet Fujiwara no Teika. He also commissioned publication of a woodblock-print edition of that anthology with his own annotations, the *Go-Mizunoo tennō Hyakunin isshu* (One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each Collection of Go-Mizunoo).[58] Leading literary scholars at Go-Mizunoo's court participated in efforts to preserve the study and composition of *waka*, as well as of long overlooked early anthologies such as the eighth-century *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), esteemed as Japan's first poetry anthology. In this and other ways Go-Mizunoo served as a leading spokesman for the preservation of aristocratic verse, which people would continue to associate with the exclusivity of the court through the Edo period.[59] Yet, even though Go-Mizunoo dedicated much time and thought to the sponsorship of literary forms with traditional sacred and political implications related to imperial rule, an emergent tendency saw courtly arts—perhaps *waka* most notably—being divorced from ritual and religion. The Tokugawa played a part in encouraging this new tendency.

A contemporaneous source that asserts the importance of poetry at court was the 1615 Regulations for the Palace and Nobility issued by the Tokugawa, which ordered the emperor to focus on practicing the arts or *geinō*, most notably scholarship or *gakumon* and *waka*, as explained in the previous chapter. The second section of Article One of the Regulations reads:

> The composing of *waka* began with Emperor Kōkō and continues to this day. Though it consists merely of beautiful expressions, it is our country's art; it should not be abandoned. As written in the *Kinpishō* [A Selection of Palace Secrets], [the emperor's] primary efforts should be directed to the arts.[60]

The *Kinpishō*, composed by the early thirteenth-century Emperor Juntoku, comprises information on court practices meant for consultation by later emperors. It opens with the assertion that court observances place a priority on worship of Shinto divinities, especially the imperial progenitor worshipped at Ise Grand Shrine; the Tokugawa Regulations conveniently omitted this aspect of palace secrets and instead emphasized that *waka* "consists merely of beautiful expressions." As the Tokugawa knew quite well, aristocrats took great pride in their refined verse, which in and of itself expressed the sacred prestige of the emperor. Although the Tokugawa wanted court poetry to survive (and to continue to occupy the attentions of the monarch and nobility) and commissioned works like shrine plaques that would demonstrate their affiliation with this elite practice, they must have been discomfited by certain extra-literary aspects of *waka*, specifically the interwoven religious and political underpinnings and connotations of this imperial tradition. The above-quoted introduction to the 1615 Regulations for the Palace and Nobility clearly conveys Tokugawa desire to attenuate the old bond between court verse and imperial ideology.

In addition to the aforementioned literary pursuits, Go-Mizunoo revived Go-Yōzei's project of printing volumes of literary classics. He ordered publication of the *Jindai no maki* from the *Nihon shoki* and the *Shokugenshō*, along with several other volumes whose titles have been lost.[61] In addition, Go-Mizunoo commissioned a printing of the *Huangchao leiyuan* (Classified Quotations from Works by Courtly Scholars; J: *Kōchō ruien*), the Japanese version of a twelfth-century Chinese text. In this and other ways the emperor encouraged the preservation of Chinese traditions long valued by aristocrats. These included Confucian texts that Go-Mizunoo treated as both an ethical and a literary legacy of the court. He invited scholars to the palace to lecture on canonical Confucian texts such as *Daxue* (The Great Learning; J: *Daigaku*) and *Zhongyong* (The Doctrine of the Mean; J: *Chūyō*). Like other specialists on Neo-Confucian scholarship, he justified literary activity on moral grounds, as something that could "promote good and chastise evil" (*kanzen chōaku*).[62] In sum, Go-Mizunoo was an ardent supporter of training in Japanese and Chinese classics; like his father before him, he recognized both cultural and political value in these traditions. Notwithstanding his apparently strained relationship with his father, Go-Mizunoo continued Go-Yōzei's initiatives long after his death.[63]

GO-MIZUNOO'S SKILLS AS A CALLIGRAPHER

Not only was Go-Mizunoo's one of the most esteemed hands of the seventeenth century, but he was also one of the most prolific imperial calligraphers of the period. At a time when fine calligraphy was perhaps more highly prized than any other visual art form, his must have been readily recognizable to his courtiers and other prominent individuals. He had been schooled in calligraphy from an early age, learning a variety of script styles under masters such as Prince Sonjun (1591–1653), abbot of the Tendai temple Shōren'in in Kyoto. Sonjun was the hereditary master of the "Shōren'in manner" (*Shōren'in ryū*), charged with its preservation.

Sonjun's calligraphy lineage had been founded centuries earlier by the seventeenth prince-abbot of Shōren'in, Son'en (1298–1356). Since then the Shōren'in abbots had been chosen for their calligraphic mastery. In 1643 Go-Mizunoo was allowed to examine the *Jubokushō* (Summary of Calligraphy), a treatise composed in 1352 by Son'en for Emperor Go-Kōgon; this was an honor even for an emperor, indicating Go-Mizunoo's high proficiency as a calligrapher.[64] Go-Mizunoo also studied the "Sanbōin manner" (*Sanbōin ryū*), associated with the aristocratic Shingon subtemple of Sanbōin at

Daigoji. The calligraphic manner of Nakanoin Michimura, Go-Mizunoo's poetry instructor, was yet another influence on the young monarch. Despite the numerous sources of inspiration, Go-Mizunoo eventually developed his own calligraphic style, known as the "Go-Mizunoo manner" (*Go-Mizunoo ryū*). Identified by a solemn, tight flow of slender and elongated characters—seen for example in his poem on the theme of felicitations from the Museum of the Imperial Collections—his hand is easily distinguished from those of his imperial predecessors (fig. 43). His writing style has been described as "utterly sober, dry and crisp."[65]

In addition to verse and divine-name inscriptions, a number of Go-Mizunoo's imperial writs (*chokusho*), epistles (*shinkan*), letters (*shōsoku*), Buddhist sutras (*okyō*), and Zen-style "ink traces" (*bokuseki*) survive, many preserved at *monzeki* temples and convents in the Kyoto region, exhibiting the range of expressive possibilities that were traditional to the court. Some of these are formal announcements written with a clear sense of occasion; others are drafts and notes dashed off with little obvious concern for appearance. Although the *waka* scrolls by Go-Mizunoo, written mostly in running *kana*, reveal his refined Japanese script, the Zen ink traces are boldly expressive. Zen calligraphy, which had been appropriated by emperors during the Muromachi period and then elevated to a high status at court, commonly features Chinese characters austerely yet dynamically written.

Go-Mizunoo's circular sheet with a single Chinese character reading "*Nin*" (Perseverance) is perhaps the most famous of his calligraphies due to its powerful implications (fig. 44). The undated inscription is mounted as a hanging scroll and preserved at Shōgo'in, an aristocratic Tendai temple in Kyoto. Although no documentation exists to prove that Go-Mizunoo meant this inscription as a protest against warrior overlords, it might be interpreted as an expression of his intention to persevere as emperor despite high-handed Tokugawa intrusions into court affairs.[66] The inscription's strong brushwork conveys integrity and determination.

Go-Mizunoo was also a collector of calligraphy



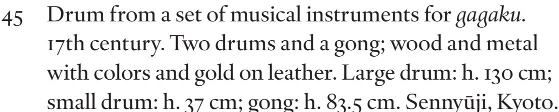
44 Emperor Go-Mizunoo. Calligraphy reading "*Nin*" (Perseverance). 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. D. 35 cm. Shōgo'in, Kyoto.

as revealed in his collection of writing samples by famous calligraphers of the past (*kohitsugire*). Among his treasures was a calligraphy scroll by Fujiwara no Teika, much admired in court circles during the early seventeenth century for his bold calligraphy as well as his poems.[67] In addition Go-Mizunoo followed the recent trend among aristocratic and warrior collectors to compile compendia of exemplary calligraphy, which were known as "mirrors of the hand" (*tekagami*). In 1625, for example, he asked that two lines be removed from a manuscript in the possession of Daigoji in order to add it to an album of calligraphy that he was creating.[68] Go-Mizunoo's calligraphy album is one facet of the increasing interest in collecting and connoisseurship, which extended to other arts as well.[69]

THE PALACE AS BASTION OF ARISTOCRATIC CULTURE

Along with the central courtly arts of poetry and calligraphy, Go-Mizunoo's cultural engagement extended to participation in musical performance,





45 Drum from a set of musical instruments for *gagaku*. 17th century. Two drums and a gong; wood and metal with colors and gold on leather. Large drum: h. 130 cm; small drum: h. 37 cm; gong: h. 83.5 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.



45a Drum and a gong from the same set of musical instruments for *gagaku* as fig. 45.

tea preparation, and flower arranging. His practice and patronage of both visual and performing arts, indeed, helped establish the very definition of the role of an emperor in early modern times. Go-Mizunoo's interest in music is reflected in the instruments preserved from his collection, for example the stringed instrument (*koto*) preserved in the Osaka City Museum and the set of percussion instruments preserved at Sennyūji (fig. 45).[70] The latter set is a rare example of its type to survive from the seventeenth century and includes a small hourglass-shaped drum (*kakko*), a small gong (*shōko*), and a large drum with a colorful painted head (*tsuri-daiko*), all of which are used for classical court music and dance (*gagaku*).

Many emperors—especially those who reigned during periods of court prosperity—had commissioned art works, but few since the time of Emperor Go-Shirakawa could boast such a broad range of artistic interests as Go-Mizunoo. In many of these pursuits, he drew from the legacy of the court and enhanced his practice with ongoing antiquarian studies, much as Go-Yōzei had in previous decades. Unlike his father, however, Go-Mizunoo was interested in making contact with adepts of cultural forms such as tea and flowering arranging even though some of those individuals belonged to the commoner classes. As a patron of art, Go-Mizunoo led a Kyoto cultural movement that centered on an aristocratic circle and thence rippled to educated commoners and others in the ancient capital. In this way, Go-Mizunoo created a legacy different from that of his father, as we will see in Chapter 7.

During the first half of his reign, Go-Mizunoo

asserted himself in the cultural realm, though he faced repeated restrictions imposed by the Tokugawa in matters of a political nature. A dearth of records makes it difficult exactly to reconstruct his frame of mind. However, in one text by Go-Mizunoo concerning instructions on imperial calligraphy, the emperor lamented his plight, stating, "In antiquity, imperial edicts commanded obedience in all matters; now our words have no effect … . That is appalling, but it can't be helped in this degenerate age."[71] These are strong words, but Go-Mizunoo's situation made it impossible for him to name the authors of his predicament.

As the relationship between the *dairi* and the bakufu evolved, the imperial household lost more ground in the political domain.[72] That said, Go-Mizunoo continued to exert much influence on individuals in elite groups at the cultural, religious, and symbolic level. There is no doubt that Go-Mizunoo assumed leadership of his father's campaign to restore imperial prestige, and this included reviving the Esoteric *mishuhō* rite and other ceremonies that proclaimed the divine right of imperial rule. Early Edo-period court leaders were determined to preserve this aspect of the imperial legacy.

From all appearances, the Tokugawa were content to promote the emperor as defender of aristocratic culture, as long as the emperor avoided overt political participation in affairs beyond the palace walls. It served Tokugawa purposes for the shogun's legitimizer to be highly respected, and both the *dairi* and the bakufu agreed that sponsoring annual rituals and commissioning artworks could bolster elite palace culture. Regardless, Go-Mizunoo would certainly have undertaken the same cultural pursuits on his own initiative. These pursuits were central to court practice, and thus the emperor's cultural activities were no mere acquiescence to the 1615 Regulations. Go-Mizunoo needed, and naturally appreciated, Tokugawa generosity, but he clearly strove to assert his authority within the restrictions imposed by the bakufu.[73] Eventually, however, Go-Mizunoo could no longer tolerate bakufu encroachments on imperial authority, and in 1629 he suddenly announced his decision to abdicate. Yet that was only after going to great lengths to accede to bakufu demands, even agreeing to marry the shogun's daughter, as described in the next chapter.



5

Art and Architecture for Empress Tōfukumon'in

DURING THE THIRD DECADE of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa advanced their plans to further appropriate imperial prestige and establish their own elite status. A crucial element in this agenda transpired in 1620 when Go-Mizunoo, yielding to pressure, married Tokugawa Masako (later known as Tōfukumon'in), the fourteen-year-old daughter of the current shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada. This was a virtually unprecedented instance of an emperor taking a wife from a warrior clan. Hidetada, who recognized the political value of befriending and assuaging the court, then paid visits to Kyoto and sponsored a number of construction projects there. These displays of bakufu generosity toward the monarch's hometown were also a Tokugawa strategy to compete with memories of Toyotomi largesse in the ancient capital.[1] With that in mind, Hidetada arranged for his daughter's wedding procession to be staged as spectacular political theater with the entire populace of Kyoto as an audience.

This chapter examines visual imagery associated with the marriage, beginning with the bridal parade itself as portrayed in the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in*, an anonymous pair of screens, and the preparation of an elaborate suite of palace buildings for the new empress. This chapter also introduces Tōfukumon'in's life in the palace and highlights the importance of wealth and status in the balance of power between emperor and shogun.

Portrait of Empress Tōfukumon'in, detail of fig. 58.

THE ROYAL WEDDING FOR A WARLORD'S DAUGHTER

The marriage of the emperor and the shogun's daughter was made possible by a complicated and prolonged exchange between the elites of Kyoto and Edo, a dialogue initiated by Ieyasu, who hoped one day to see a great-grandson on the imperial throne. Yet that goal was not as easily achieved as might have been imagined: at least eleven years of planning and negotiation were needed to realize the desired outcome, which was by no means universally accepted.[2] A pair of sumptuously painted four-panel folding screens entitled the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* (*Tōfukumon'in judai-zu byōbu*; Mitsui Bunko Art Museum; fig. 46) conveys the great pomp and ceremony of the public facet of the event.[3] This work depicts the bride's lengthy parade passing by throngs of viewers. Scholars date the screens to the third or fourth decade of the seventeenth century, but the artist and patron remain unknown.[4] Quite possibly the screens were commissioned by a member or retainer of the Tokugawa clan, but whether that individual was close to Tōfukumon'in is not certain. Nevertheless, displaying these screens would have conveyed the original owner's connection to the bride, a famous young empress who hailed from the leading military clan of the day.

The bride came with an unimpeachable warrior pedigree. Not only was her father the head of the Tokugawa clan, but her mother, Eyo-no-kata (also known as Ogō and Sūgen'in; 1573–1626), was de-



46 *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* (right screen). 17th century. Pair of four-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 157 x 357 cm. Mitsui Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.





46 *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* (left screen). 17th century. Pair of four-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 157 x 357 cm. Mitsui Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.





46a The Empress's Palace, detail of the left screen.

scended from another renowned warrior family, the Asai of Ōmi Province. Eyo-no-kata had witnessed close-up the swings of fortune during the Age of the Country at War. Her father, the powerful warlord Asai Nagamasa, had taken his own life after failing to repel Oda Nobunaga's 1573 attack on Ōmi. With her clan subjugated, Eyo-no-kata sought protection under Toyotomi Hideyoshi. At age fourteen Eyo-no-kata was betrothed for the first time, but seven years later, after three marriages, she was left widowed.[5] In 1595, apparently by Hideyoshi's arrangement, she married her fourth and final husband, Tokugawa Hidetada, cementing an alliance between the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa. She was twenty-three years old, and Hidetada was six years her junior. Eleven years later their daughter Masako was born.

Masako also learned about the realities of marriage alliances from the experiences of other women in her family offered as brides at a young age. Yet Masako's marriage had no precedent: it established a link at the highest level between the *dairi* and the bakufu. Ieyasu had been contemplating the possibility of his granddaughter's marriage to Go-Mizunoo since at least 1608, as the aristocratic priest Gien mentions in a diary entry of that year.[6] Masako was then still an infant and Go-Mizunoo was fifteen years old.

More serious consideration of the marriage prospect occurred in 1612, just after Go-Mizunoo ascended the throne. The bakufu even began preparing Masako's marriage accoutrements.[7] The imperial family resisted Tokugawa pressure at this point, and it is possible that retired Emperor Go-Yōzei personally put a stop to the wedding plans.[8] Discussions resumed but soon reached an impasse once again, this time perhaps due to Ieyasu's flagging interest. In the fourth month of 1614—when

the court envoys to Edo, Sanjōnishi Saneeda and Hirohashi Kanekatsu, arrived at Sunpu Castle—the former shogun appeared preoccupied with the regulations for warriors, courtiers, and priests that he was currently drafting, and he failed to broach the topic of a possible marriage. Four years later, after the death of Go-Yōzei, another obstacle to Masako's entrance into court presented itself. That was when a court lady named Oyotsu (Yotsutsugi Yotsuko; 1589–1638) gave birth to Go-Mizunoo's first child, a son called Kamonomiya (Wakanomiya; 1618–1623).[9] In the following year Oyotsu had a daughter by the emperor. Then Hidetada intervened: Oyotsu and her two children were moved to a separate residence outside the *dairi*, and she apparently disappeared from court life.

Frustrated by the lack of progress toward Masako's marriage, Hidetada took the extreme step in 1619 of ordering three courtiers involved in the stalled negotiations into exile.[10] Hearing of this, Go-Mizunoo immediately requested permission to abdicate from the throne in favor of one of his brothers, but Hidetada denied the request.[11] Instead, the shogun called for talks to resume, and the two parties finally set aside impediments to the marriage of Go-Mizunoo and Masako.

To prepare for the wedding, the Tokugawa appointed a leading shogunal administrator (*sōbugyō*), Doi Toshikatsu (1573–1644), lord of Sakura Castle in Shimōsa Province (present-day Chiba Prefecture). He was to ensure that the entry of Masako into the court would be a spectacular public relations event, symbolizing the union of the shogunate and the *dairi*. According to a contemporary document entitled *Nyōgo judai goyōi no koto* (Preparations for the Marriage of the Empress), when Toshikatsu heard that subordinates had decided to minimize some wedding expenses, he reversed their decision, saying:

> We should prepare [for Masako's wedding] in the most careful way. There are no limits on these plans. Expenses are expenses. You should order items from artisans who make the highest quality goods. This is the first marriage of the daughter of a shogun to an emperor since the time of the shogun Yoritomo [Minamoto Yoritomo; 1147–1199]. In terms of the shogun's family honor and the prosperity of Kyoto, making careful preparations is the same thing as showing respect for the emperor. Money provided for labor from the state's finances is like money sprinkled around by the ruler, unlike money that is cast into the sea or into rivers and carried off to other countries, which is not an investment in the nation. When our artisans and craftsmen are paid the amount that they ask for, the result is profit for the citizens of our country.
>
> The shogun and the emperor benefit greatly when citizens become rich and prosperous. Why are there questions about how much is being spent on Masako's wedding preparations? We know that artisans and craftsmen will adjust their labor depending on the amount of money they receive, and, because these preparations are being made for a happy occasion in the shogun's family, we must prepare everything as carefully as possible. It may entail great expense, but we should plan as if expenses were no concern. When someone holds on to their money and keeps their gold and silver in a storehouse, their wealth has no more value than stone tiles. Of course, people should always save some money, but when necessary they should also spend it or invest it. Put another way, that is the purpose of money. Furthermore, the funds are not leaving our country. They will pass into the state, and the citizenry will receive the shogun's benefits.[12]

Masako departed Edo Castle at the beginning of the fifth month of 1620, and on the eighth day of the following month she entered Kyoto. The bride's entry into Kyoto and her procession to the imperial palace, ten days later, were indeed dazzling displays of Tokugawa wealth and power. The Tokugawa bestowed upon Masako a prodigious gift of money and an impressive trousseau. According to the aforementioned document, the shogun gave his daughter at the time of her marriage 700,000 *koku*.[13] About 1.5 percent of this sum was designated for her "makeup allowance" (*keshōryō*), the stipend allotted a bride; this was much greater than the stipends received by her aunts and sisters at their weddings and matched the combined annual allowances of all other members of the court.[14] To put it anoth-

er way, she received at her wedding a sum of money equal to the allowance of all the courtiers over approximately a seventy-year period. The purpose of this extravagance may have been to demonstrate the economic might of the Edo government. Another possibility, of course, is that she had to bring a large endowment to overcome the court's lack of enthusiasm for a Tokugawa bride. Everyone must have been impressed with Masako's purchasing power, but some were probably surprised at her effective use of the money over subsequent decades to bolster the prestige of the court and to promote Kyoto culture.

In addition to the money, Masako received a bridal trousseau (*konrei chōdo*) that included (but was not limited to) 160 trunks filled with items, 30 pairs of folding screens, 5 picnic boxes (*obentō*), 3 chests of kimono (*gofukubako*), and a pair of Chinese style chests (*karabitsu*) for winter and summer clothing.[15] There was also a chest with gifts for the groom and his mother, Chūkamon'in. The trousseau would have been accompanied by a matching dowry set comprising hundreds of items, including lacquered shelves and tables, cosmetic cases, writing utensils, musical instruments, poem-slip boxes, and household paraphernalia, all meticulously custom-made by craftspeople of Kyoto.

The objects from Masako's dowry set must have been even more beautifully ornamented than surviving dowry objects made for brides from other prominent warrior families. Typically such sets were made gorgeous with sprinkled gold and silver designs embedded in lacquer (*maki-e*), and further embellished with inlays of mother-of-pearl (*raden*), and other precious materials. The decoration on many of Masako's dowry objects likely gave pride of place to the circular Tokugawa crest (*aoimon*), which bears three heart-shaped leaves of the *aoi* plant (*Asarum caulescens*, often mistranslated as "hollyhock"). The function of dowry-set pieces was dictated by custom, as was the manner of their display. A century earlier Ise Sadamichi (1463–1521) had elucidated the custom in his *Yome mukae no koto* (On Taking a Wife), a text accompanied by diagrams illustrating the proper placement of items in the bridal chamber.[16]

Historical records, including the single volume *Nyōgo Masako gojudai-ki* (A Record of the Wedding of Empress Masako), dated to 1633, describe Masako's trousseau and procession.[17] The sources specify who and what comprised the procession, as well as the order of their appearance.[18] The wedding procession departed Nijō Castle, the Kyoto residence of the Tokugawa, heading east and north. The procession crossed over a bridge spanning the Horikawa River in the area of central Kyoto, moving toward the palace where the emperor waited. As pictured in the screens, porters carried dowry items at the front of the procession, followed by dignitaries and guards. Next came the main contingent, with carriages transporting the bride and her ranking ladies-in-waiting. To the rear on foot were female attendants and male servants. Masako's attendants were dressed in garments newly made by fabric designers of Nishijin, the fabric-weaving district in northwestern Kyoto. After arriving at the palace, the bride sat down with the emperor to exchange gifts and for the traditional ceremony in which each drank three times from a cup of sake to seal their marriage vows.[19]

Masako's wedding procession was reportedly one of the most colorful parades held in Kyoto in centuries. Diary entries tell of townspeople decorating structures that lined the processional route and erecting temporary terraces along the Horikawa River in preparation.[20] Crowding the streets were thousands of spectators; some were bystanders from nearby areas, others were residents watching from their homes and businesses. One member of the crowd was Hōrin Jōshō, an aristocratic monk of Rokuonji, who described the event in his *Rokuon nichiroku* (Diary of Rokuon):

> The possessions of Masako, the long boxes of clothing and the various related objects, were finely crafted. There were many items in the trousseau, all made of lacquer with designs of sprinkled gold and silver dust. One carriage held the empress, accompanied by six other carriages. The gorgeousness of Masako's vehicle amazed the tens of thousands of spectators; and the other vehicles, while not quite as fabulous, were undeni-



46b Tōfukumon'in's carriage, detail of the left screen.

ably fine. Following the carriages was a group of Masako's female attendants, who made their way shielded from the sun by parasols, and after them came attendants on horseback.[21]

WEDDING PROCESSION

The pair of screens of the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* in the Mitsui Bunko Art Museum (fig. 46) confirms the written accounts of the event. The screens show an extensive parade stretching across four stacked horizontal registers. Nijō Castle, whence the bride departed, is pictured in the lower right-hand corner of the right screen, and the procession heads left in each register, moving in the direction of the imperial palace. In the top register a group of servants transporting the trousseau leads the procession toward the imperial palace, pictured at the far left-hand corner. The Shishinden, the Seiryōden, and the Empress's Palace are represented and identified in writing on the screen (fig. 46a).

The screens provide an abundance of specific information. In each of the four registers forms are painted with miniature details in ink and color; applied gold leaf and painted gold clouds add further adornment. The artist has devoted much attention to identifying members of leading noble and warrior clans. In the second register from the top in the second panel of the right screen, for example, we see an array of equestrian warriors, including figures from the Matsudaira and Honda clans. Itakura Shigemune (1586–1657), recently named to replace his father as the Tokugawa magistrate (*shoshidai*) in Kyoto, appears near the middle of this group. Behind the bridal carriages—in the third register from the top—stand mansions of the nobility, notably the Konoe and the Ichijō residences. Finally, in the

lower register are ranking aristocrats on horseback, including several from the Hirohashi and Hino families, shown with servants walking alongside and shielding them from the elements with red parasols. In the lower register at the procession's end are trailing officials, just leaving the gate of Nijō Castle.

The bride's carriage—appearing about midway between the two residences—is drawn by two oxen and is strikingly decorated with the circular Tokugawa crest in gold and colors on a black lacquer ground (fig. 46b). The bride, inside the carriage, is not visible. Inscribed on the screens—in text sections following the start and preceding the end of the procession—are the names of courtiers and warriors in order of their appearance, as well as a list of trousseau items.[22] Large-scale paintings of the period often include written labels, but text this lengthy is unusual.[23]

Some scholars believe that the screens were painted by a Kano artist, others that the screens were created by Sumiyoshi Jokei, who participated in painting the *Annual Rites* handscrolls discussed in previous chapters.[24] Elements of *kanga* style, which was based in part on Chinese painting models, are mixed here with elements of *yamato-e*, the so-called native style of painting. Kano, Tosa, and Sumiyoshi painters sometimes amalgamated the two manners, making it difficult to identify the screens even as a product of a particular workshop. But the main intention is clear enough: to create an elaborate advertisement for the Tokugawa and the imperial family.

Between their fine painting and the wealth of visual and textual information they provide, it is reasonable to characterize the screens as a significant historical document, although not necessarily an accurate account. The screens are sometimes categorized as "record paintings" (*kiroku-ga*), as are a number of other early Edo-period paintings that portray memorable events of the day.[25] Despite the abundant detail, their purpose was to celebrate the purported accord between the court and the government. Every aspect of the portrayal is commemorative. For that matter, written sources on the marriage parade also emphasize congratulations; one relates, for instance, that, "Both the rich and the poor who watched the wedding procession respected Masako, and a cheer arose from the crowd."[26] Similarly, a member of the imperial family—Go-Mizunoo's daughter Princess Tsuneko—would later write in her diary, "Old people still shed tears reminiscing about the magnificent wedding procession [of Tokugawa Masako], which was no less grand than an imperial visit."[27]

The composition of the *Wedding Procession* screens—with long views down Kyoto's avenues broken into four stacked registers—differs from the composition typically selected for another type of large-scale representation of the city: screens with *Scenes in and around Kyoto*. Most of the latter in this period displayed an even scattering of natural and man-made forms set between bands of gold clouds, and thus they form a single, visually integrated arrangement. Indeed, the stacked composition of the *Wedding Procession* screens is not only uncommon in folding screens of the period, it is admittedly somewhat awkward.[28] The pictorial arrangement suggests that the artist did not refer to screens with *Scenes in and around Kyoto*; instead, he may have borrowed from another format: the handscroll. Each register affords the long, narrow composition of a handscroll, a format conducive to illustrating processions and excursions.

If the painter of the screens did borrow from a handscroll illustrating a procession—perhaps even an original handscroll of Tōfukumon'in's marriage procession that is now lost—he may have been responding to a client's wish that the format be altered. By increasing the scale from the handscroll format, the artist made it possible for many viewers at once to behold the wedding scene. As in handscrolls, the screens convey a sense of progression through time, with Tōfukumon'in's entourage moving from the shogunal quarters to the imperial residence. As this was an event of great importance to the Tokugawa clan, it is likely that many paintings of the subject were produced, although only this one pair of screens devoted exclusively to the procession is well known.

Large scale and liberal application of expensive materials clearly indicates that the work was commissioned by a wealthy individual, perhaps a bakufu administrator or a member of a Tokugawa branch clan, who may have ordered them partly in hopes of validating a claim to association with the shogunal and imperial families. Supporting such a supposition are the screens of Tōfukumon'in's wedding procession once owned by another warrior family who served the Tokugawa, the Ii clan of Tōtōmi Province (part of present-day Shizuoka Prefecture); these do not survive.[29] Another possibility is that the screens were commissioned directly by the Tokugawa shogun and presented as a gift to a warrior retainer or a ranking aristocrat.

A PALACE BUILT FOR AN EMPRESS

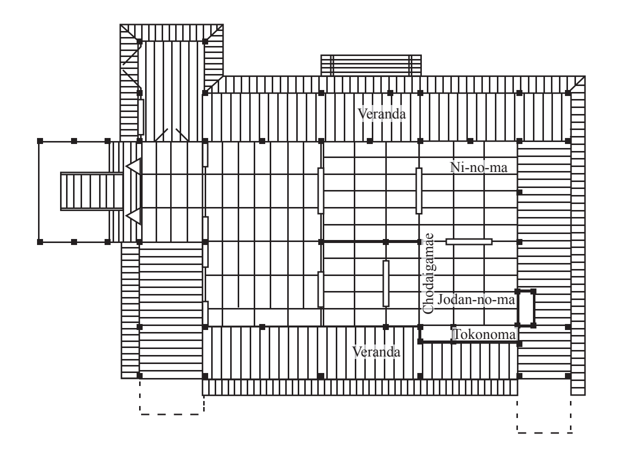
The palace toward which the young bride moves in the *Wedding Procession* screens appears as a diminutive group of structures in the upper left corner of the left screen (fig. 46a). In actuality, however, that palace had been greatly enlarged in preparation for the bride's arrival, proof of the partial fictiveness of the screens. Certainly people familiar with the palace realized that nothing like it had been built for generations. Just as the Tokugawa spared no expense for Tōfukumon'in's wedding procession, they made certain that her palace would be grand. Not only the magnificent proportions of the exteriors, but the gorgeous painting on the interiors demonstrated the Tokugawa's aspirations. A leading figure in the Kano workshop oversaw the painting of the interiors at the Empress's Palace (Nyōgo Gosho), just as at Go-Mizunoo's recently completed palace. Now, however, it was a different Kano artist, one mainly in the employ of the Tokugawa, not the court. A few surviving written records allow us to reconstruct aspects of the painting of Tōfukumon'in's palace, as discussed below; in addition, a number of paintings may survive from her quarters.

Builders had started construction on an entirely new and impressive Empress's Palace several years before the marriage ceremony (the exact date is uncertain). Go-Mizunoo's palace had been completed only a few years earlier, in 1614, and perhaps as early as 1618 many of the same architects, painters, and craftsmen were called back to work on the compound of his consort-to-be. Three commissioners supervised the construction of Tōfukumon'in's palace: Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), Murakami Son'enmon (act. early 17th century), and Gomi Kin'emon Toyonao (1583–1660). Each was a leading builder in the employ of the Tokugawa.

The most prominent member of the team was Enshū, who oversaw the construction and painting of at least six buildings in the Empress's Palace and laid out at least one of the landscaped gardens at the palace.[30] Enshū was widely known for his cultural roles as tea master and garden designer, and he is credited with founding early modern landscape design, but he was equally influential as a government administrator. Raised in a warrior family and appointed commissioner of public works early in his career, Enshū also served as the Tokugawa magistrate of the Kyoto-Osaka region. Beyond engineering and design skills, Enshū needed negotiating skills to deal with the *dairi* and the bakufu on projects such as this, and he traveled regularly between Kyoto and Edo during periods of palace construction.[31]

Directing crews of workers on the Empress's Palace construction was the Nakai family. Carpenters and other craftsmen worked in groups under Nakai Masakiyo (1565–1619), who, when he died, was replaced by a family member. Masakiyo had been a vassal of Ieyasu since about 1588, and he had been involved with building projects since at least 1602. Based on Masakiyo's service, the Nakai became head carpentry supervisors for the bakufu, establishing a family line that operated in the manner of a governmental office. The Nakai managed a number of carpentry groups, which worked on all or parts of numerous construction projects, including Nijō Castle and Fushimi Castle in the Kyoto area, not to mention bakufu projects in Edo.[32]

Visitors who entered through the western gate of the Empress's Palace were greeted by an impres-



47 Reconstructed diagram of the hall for formal reception of visitors in the Empress's Palace of Tōfukumon'in (based on documentary evidence).

sive cluster of buildings, which, most unusually, resembled the emperor's compound. In fact, in the past century, owing to the court's impoverishment and the comparatively low standing of imperial consorts, empresses had not even been provided with their own compounds.[33] Tōfukumon'in's palace extended beyond the palace grounds of the most recent Empress's Palace, to include a section of the former retirement palace of Emperor Go-Yōzei, who had died several years earlier. Its public spaces were in the southwest, with private quarters in the northeast. Her buildings included a Shinden for ritual activities, comparable to the Shishinden of the emperor's palace; a Sōjadokoro for visitors awaiting audiences with the empress; a Tsunegoten for private residential space; a Gokyū Sokujo for resting chambers; an Okeshōden for toilette; an Otsubone for attendants' rooms; and a Gosato Gosho, in which space was reserved for temporary quarters. There was also a Taimenjo for formal reception of visitors (fig. 47).

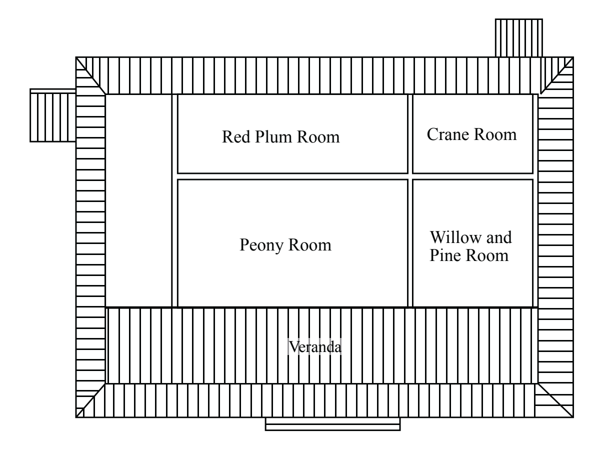
In some respects Tōfukumon'in's Taimenjo corresponded to the emperor's Seiryōden, but it also borrowed one feature from the Taimenjo of Edo Castle, namely its own gate, which suggests intent to mark the empress's Tokugawa pedigree. Other distinctive elements of Tōfukumon'in's palace were clearly visible to visitors. For example, Tōfukumon'in's Tsunegoten was comparable in size to that of the emperor, and it stood at a remove from the emperor's residence, not close by. All in all, the exteriors of Tōfukumon'in's Nyōgo Gosho must have impressed upon visitors that this young woman was a person to be respected, someone affiliated with wealth and power beyond that of the imperial family in recent memory.

Several buildings from Tōfukumon'in's palace may survive, having been dismantled and moved in later years.[34] Scholars generally maintain that extant buildings include the empress's Tsunegoten, probably moved in 1642 or 1643, which now serves as the Shinden, or "imperial apartments" of Daikakuji in Kyoto, as discussed below (fig. 48).[35] Extant buildings also include the Otsubone, now the Shinden of Enman'in at Onjōji in Shiga (donated in 1642; reconstruction completed in 1647); and the Tamaya, a small pavilion on the grounds of Rinshōin at Myōshinji. In addition, some art historians maintain that sliding-door panel paintings from the interiors of certain of these buildings survive.[36]

One of the main buildings in Tōfukumon'in's palace was the Tsunegoten, which was constructed as a multi-chambered residential structure where the empress would have spent much of her time through the 1620s. Possibly, although not certainly, some time after Tōfukumon'in became retired empress, the Tsunegoten was dismantled and moved to Daikakuji, a Shingon *monzeki* temple in the Saga district of northwestern Kyoto that dated from the ninth century.[37] Although Go-Mizunoo maintained close ties with Daikakuji—and a portrait statue of Go-Mizunoo is preserved in the temple's memorial hall, the Goreiden—it may have been Tōfukumon'in who decided to donate her Tsunegoten to Daikakuji. Admittedly we can not be certain if the building was moved to the temple, but we do know that at the time of its purported donation, the abbot of Daikakuji was either one of Go-Mizunoo's brothers, tonsured Prince Sonshō, or one of Go-Mizunoo's sons, tonsured Prince Seishin. At Daikakuji the structure in question is the Shinden, a residential hall where the aristocratic abbot spent much of



48 Shinden of Daikakuji, Kyoto. 17th century.



49 Diagram of the Shinden of Daikakuji, Kyoto.

his time. If the Daikakuji Shinden were indeed once the empress's Tsunegoten, then slight alterations were made to the building, and paintings on its interior were reduced in size, with the sliding-door panels remaining intact within the structure.

KANO PAINTINGS FOR AN EMPRESS'S PALACE

Just as no expense was spared for the buildings and gardens of Tōfukumon'in's palace complex, the decoration of the empress's chambers displayed an opulence only possible with funding from the coffers of the Tokugawa bakufu. Perhaps most notably, the Daikakuji Shinden has sliding-door panel paintings executed in vibrant color on gold grounds, which were designated as Important Cultural Properties in modern times (fig. 49).

Panels from the Daikakuji Shinden

The Shinden at Daikakuji includes two large rooms with panel painting: one room features eighteen panels of *Peonies* (*Botan-zu*), the other has ten panels of *Blossoming Red Plum* (*Kōbai-zu*; figs. 50–52). These were subjects perfectly suited to the residential quarters of Tōfukumon'in.[38] In the Peony Room (Botan-no-ma) a mid-summer scene of white and pink peonies in full flower might have greeted the empress nearly every day for years on end. In Japan, as in China, the peony signifies wealth, imperial glory, and female beauty. The luxuriant peonies cluster around sculptural formations of stacked rocks with small birds here and there, all suggesting an idyllic garden. Two small green birds are tucked side-by-side atop a pillar-like rock and seem to refer to hopes for the happy companionship of the imperial couple (fig. 51). Above the painter rendered wafting clouds in gold relief against an enveloping golden ground.

In the adjoining Red Plum Room (Ume-no-ma) are images of plum blossoms, a harbinger of spring, accompanied by birds. Included here is a pair of mandarin ducks—a male and a female, also perched close together upon a rock—along with various other birds. As the first tree to flower each year, the blossoming plum promises warmth and happiness, and paired mandarin ducks symbolize marital fidelity. These images, which convey wishes for conjugal harmony, would have been ideally suited for the residence of the young empress from the Tokugawa clan.

Leading artists of the Kano workshop were called to the palace in 1619 to paint the panels and doors in the newly constructed quarters of the empress.[39] Kano Tan'yū, Naganobu (1577–1654), Jinnojō (act. early 17th century), and Sadanobu (1597–1623)—the seventh-generation head of the main Kano house and the Kano artist with highest



50 Attributed to Kano Sanraku. *Peonies*. 1619–1620. Four sliding-door panels from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each panel 185 x 93.5 cm. Shinden, Daikakuji, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.







51 Attributed to Kano Sanraku. *Peonies*, detail of one sliding-door panel from the same set as fig. 50.

rank—are among the artists credited with painting these scenes. Kano Takanobu, the leading painter at the earlier Keichō Palace of Go-Mizunoo, had died in 1618; therefore, following tradition, it would have been Sadanobu who was officially in charge of the painting of interiors here. Sadanobu was the son of Mitsunobu, who had succeeded Eitoku as head of the Kano atelier. Sadanobu was only twenty-three at this time, but he had already been employed on several major painting projects for the Tokugawa. Few paintings by Sadanobu survive, perhaps because he died young; he would live only a few years after completing the paintings for Tōfukumon'in's palace. A rare section of extant painting widely ascribed to Sadanobu shows figures in a landscape and comes from the Taimenjo of the Honmaru Palace at Nagoya Castle, built for the Tokugawa.[40] Sadanobu was apparently talented at representing figures in landscapes with delicate detail, while his father Mitsunobu earned renown for his refined lyricism in rendering natural landscape forms.

Given that the highest-ranking Kano artist typically created work for the main rooms of a building, we might expect that Sadanobu would paint the peony and plum panels in the empress's Tsunegoten, as proposed by architectural historian Fujioka Michio and others who have studied the provenance of these works. Nevertheless, most art historians continue to attribute the paintings to Kano Sanraku based mainly on stylistic analysis.[41] Sanraku's talent as a painter earned him wide acclaim, but since he had sided with the Toyotomi his name may have been stricken from the record of painting at Tōfukumon'in's palace.[42] As discussed below, he was in the process of redeeming himself in Tokugawa eyes when invitations went out to work at the Empress's Palace.

Born into a warrior clan, Sanraku had exhibited an aptitude for painting early in life. Hideyoshi is said to have "discovered" Sanraku, and in about 1588, on the warlord's strong encouragement, he became the adopted son of Kano Eitoku.[43] Sanraku came to be recognized as Eitoku's leading student; two years after Eitoku's death he was selected to oversee the interior painting of Hideyoshi's Fushimi Castle. Following the 1615 defeat of the Toyotomi, Sanraku fled Osaka Castle and sought refuge with the monk-painter-calligrapher Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639), who lived at the Shinto-Shingon subtemple Takinomotobō at Mount Otoko, south of Kyoto. With Shōjō as intermediary, Sanraku was pardoned by the Tokugawa, who soon employed him on several painting projects in the Osaka-Kyoto region.[44] When it came time to paint the interiors of the Empress's Palace of Tōfukumon'in, Sanraku was about sixty with an established reputation as a highly gifted painter.

Sanraku might well have painted the masterpieces of *Peonies* and *Blossoming Red Plum* in the Daikakuji Shinden, but we have no verification. No artist's signatures or seals appear on these panels, just as no such identifying marks appear on the other large-scale paintings for palace interiors discussed in this book. No original documents tell which Kano artist painted the panels of the Empress's Palace. At the time of their painting, however, Sanraku was more highly acclaimed than the young Sadanobu. Stylistically, the panels of *Peonies* and *Blossoming Red Plum* adhere to Sanraku's manner, in the detailed, naturalistic renderings of plants contrasted with the strangely distorted rocks and in the elegant and deliberate arrangements of forms. It may well be that Sanraku painted these panels for the empress's quarters and that the Kano artists, including Sanraku himself, opted to exclude his name from the records, given his problematic Toyotomi allegiance of earlier years. On this basis, art historians tend to agree that Sanraku painted the Daikakuji Shinden panels.

Several other groups of panel and wall fragments painted in 1619 or 1620 for the palace of Tōfukumon'in are thought to survive, including the well known *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* (*Sumiyoshi shatō shōgatsu fūzoku-zu*) and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate* (*Sumiyoshi monzen-zu*). Widely accepted as having been created for the Empress's Palace and later installed in the Upper Chamber of the Shinden of Enman'in at Onjōji in Shiga, these works are now preserved in the Kyoto National Museum (fig. 53).[45] Two additional frag-



52 Attributed to Kano Sanraku. *Blossoming Red Plum*. 1619–1620. Four sliding-door panels from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each panel 185 x 93.5 cm. Shinden, Daikakuji, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.



ments that may derive from the Empress's Palace are less well studied; they are paintings of *Pine Beach* from the Shinden of Shōren'in (fig. 54) and *Landscape with Multistoried Buildings* from the Tamaya of Rinshōin, attributed to Kano Sadanobu.[46]

Panels from the Enman'in Shinden

The *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate* from the Enman'in Shinden are painted in a refined style comparable to that of the aforementioned panels in the Taimenjo of the Honmaru Palace at Nagoya Castle, which are ascribed to Sadanobu. Based on similarities with the Nagoya Honmaru Palace panels, some scholars assign the Enman'in Shinden paintings to Sadanobu as well.[47] Other scholars are more tentative and, while praising the quality of the painting, they refrain from assigning the Enman'in panels to a particular Kano artist.[48] Onjōji—where Enman'in is located as a subtemple—has a number of Kano paintings from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including paintings found in the reception hall of the subtemple of Kangakuin produced by Kano Mitsunobu, Sadanobu's father.[49]

The *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* originally appeared in Tōfukumon'in's Otsubone, painted on the wall of the *tokonoma* alcove and behind staggered shelves (*chigaidana*), and the *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate* extended onto adjoining panels.[50] Tōfukumon'in's Otsubone is thought to have been incorporated into the palace of reigning Empress Meishō after Go-Mizunoo abdicated, and years later, Meishō donated the building to Enman'in, where it was refashioned into a



53 Attributed to Kano Sadanobu. *New Year Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine*. 1619–1620. *Tokonoma* alcove and staggered shelves (*chigaidana*); painting in ink, colors, and gold on paper. 248 x 380 cm. Originally from the Jōdan-no-ma, Shinden, Enman'in, Onjōji, Shiga Prefecture; kept at the Kyoto National Museum. Important Cultural Property.

Shinden.[51] Numerous figures—men, women, and children, some playing a New Year's game of battledore and shuttlecock—enjoy the holiday backed by an expansive landscape with tall pines in the alcove scene. In the upper left part of the alcove painting, above a line of erect pines, is a group of shrine buildings. Also pictured is an arched bridge at upper right, which identifies the location as Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka Prefecture. The shrine, recipient of imperial support from the early Heian period, had long been famous for its crowds of celebrants on their first shrine visit of the New Year (*hatsumōde*).

Details included in *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate*—such as the women's clothing and hairstyles—conform to fashions of the day, and stylistic features adhere to trends in genre painting of the early seventeenth century. Even though paintings of everyday life were becoming increasingly popular, *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate* are rare as surviving examples of this thematic category from the palace of the early seventeenth century and also as extant genre scenes painted on panels at this time. More specifically, these scenes have been categorized as illustrations of a famous site (*meisho-e*). Famous sites were one of the native themes that had been selected for paintings in certain rooms of the palace since the Heian period.[52] Although no early examples from the palace are known to survive, an early record of a famous site painting is found in a 1479 diary entry by nobleman Mibu Harutomi (1422–1504), who referred to picture(s) that he owned with famous sites of Kyoto. Harutomi related that he was lending his picture(s) to an artist to use as a model for painting at the emperor's palace.[53]



53a Attributed to Kano Sadanobu. *New Year Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine*, detail of same wall as fig. 53.

Because the *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine* and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate* were created for a high-ranking woman at court, it is natural to compare them with another rare, surviving fragment of panel painting by Kano artists from women's quarters at court: the scenes of Chinese court ladies and children painted earlier for public rooms in the palace of Go-Yōzei's mother, Shinjōtōmon'in, and now preserved in the Narutaki-no-ma of the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters, as discussed in Chapter 1 (figs. 12–13). The Narutaki-no-ma scenes were painted about 1601 by Kano artists in the studio of Mitsunobu. Studying the later work, we sense once again that palace panel painting was orchestrated to suit the rank and gender of the individual for whom the building was constructed, as well as the purpose to be served by the structure and its separate rooms.

The two groups of paintings—the Chinese women and children and the Sumiyoshi shrine revelers—came from rooms that originally contained an alcove and a raised section of floor, which identifies them as formal, official spaces. The Kano painters in both cases represented a cheerful scene of figures in an outdoor setting. Yet the earlier artist

portrayed the Chinese setting of a flowering palace garden, while the later artist depicted the famous Japanese site of Sumiyoshi Shrine. Furthermore, while the earlier scene focused exclusively on women with children, the later scene depicts men and women of all ages. For example, details from the *tokonoma* alcove wall of the Enman'in Shinden capture a number of male figures with differing social backgrounds suggested by their costumes and accoutrements (fig. 53a).

For the scene of Chinese court ladies and children made earlier for Shinjōtōmon'in's palace, the person in charge of the commission apparently specified a Chinese courtly setting because that was understood as dignified and thus appropriate for Shinjōtōmon'in's public space, and he specified figures of women and children because the original resident was a woman, as elucidated in Chapter 1. Few women reached the significant standing of Empress Shinjōtōmon'in, and therefore few such scenes were presumably ever painted at the palace. Shinjōtōmon'in was a mature and powerful woman when this scene was created; her husband had died, as had her father-in-law, leaving her with significant influence over her son, Emperor Go-Yōzei.

Why then do the paintings from Tōfukumon'in's Otsubone feature Japanese scenes, instead of Chinese scenes? It is likely that the answer lies in the function of this building: the Otsubone, which once stood on Tōfukumon'in's palace grounds, was reserved for her attendants. That is so say, the inclusion of many women and children in the painting of Sumiyoshi Shrine revelers was considered appropriate as the occupants were women, and the Japanese theme was seen as appropriate because this structure did not contain public rooms meant for the leading resident, Tōfukumon'in.[54]

Panels from the Shōren'in Shinden

In addition to the scenes described above—*Peonies*, *Blossoming Red Plum*, *New Year's Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine*, and *Figures in Front of Sumiyoshi Shrine Gate*—panels of *Pine Beach* (*Hamamatsu-zu*) from the Shōren'in Shinden are dated by some scholars to 1619 or 1620 and assigned to the palace of Tōfukumon'in (fig. 54).[55] The *Pine Beach* panels may have originally ornamented the Shinden of the Empress's Palace, a building for ritual purposes that was later moved and remade into the Shinden of Shōren'in.[56] Based on the distinctive effect of delicate refinement in *Pine Beach*, these panels can be attributed to Kano Sadanobu, or another artist active at the time of Tōfukumon'in's entrance into the court.[57]

The pine trees in the Shōren'in panels appear as



54 Attributed to Kano Sadanobu. *Pine Beach*. 1619–1620. One sliding-door panel from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Now in the Shinden, Shōren'in, Kyoto.

tall, slender silhouettes, similar to Takanobu's pines in the panels for Go-Mizunoo's Shishinden, a building for ritual purposes in the emperor's compound discussed in Chapter 3 (fig. 32). The pines painted for Tōfukumon'in's Shinden, however, form one part of a larger landscape in which sea shells lay scattered along the shoreline in the foreground and gold-leafed clouds stretch across the upper zone. The overall impression is a charming, fairytale realm, presumably considered ideal as a backdrop for the young empress's ceremonial space. Incidentally, other paintings long displayed in the Shinden of Shōren'in also derive from Tōfukumon'in's palace compound, although they were painted later, decades after Go-Mizunoo abdicated. These are the *Gion Festival Floats* on cedar doors originally installed in a building constructed around 1676 as the Tsunegoten of Tōfukumon'in's retirement palace, discussed in Chapter 8 (fig. 98).

Additional Panels from the Empress's Palace

Architecture historian Fujioka Michio counts three additional sets of painting as coming from Tōfukumon'in's palace. One of these survives in the Tamaya of Rinshōin, which is thought to have been moved to Myōshinji and rebuilt around 1641. Fujioka furthermore asserts that this small structure was first built in a garden in front of the Kogosho (hall for receiving high-ranked visitors) of the palace.[58] The Tamaya retains paintings of *Landscape with Multistoried Buildings* on its sliding doors and panels, which may have been painted by Sadanobu.

The other two sets that Fujioka assigns to Tōfukumon'in's palace are *Birds and Flowers* and *Hermits and Noble Characters*, found today in the Large Study (Daishoin) and the Front Vestibule (Ōgenkan) of Myōhōin in Kyoto.[59] Painting specialists, however, tend to date these panels slightly earlier, and some even ascribe them to the hand of Kano Mitsunobu.[60] The Daishoin of Myōhōin was originally the Sōjadokoro of Tōfukumon'in's palace, a building for officials attached to the Taimenjo.[61] The Sōjadokoro was apparently moved to Myōhōin around 1641, allowing for new palace construction; however, it may have included paintings produced some time before Tōfukumon'in entered the palace, perhaps created in a round of interior ornamentation of the palace of Go-Yōzei or Go-Mizunoo.

We learn, therefore, a great deal from surviving fragments of painting from Tōfukumon'in's palace, and we can glean even more information from surviving contemporaneous documents.[62] One of these, the *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* (Diagram of the Second Princess' Quarters), includes a floor plan identifying the themes of lost paintings from the Gosato Gosho, a temporary palace structure.[63] This document was produced about 1636 when Princess Teruko, the daughter of Tōfukumon'in and Go-Mizunoo, married the courtier Konoe Hisatsugu (1622–1653) and the Gosato Gosho was moved with its panel paintings intact to serve as the bride's quarters at her new home.

Among the lost paintings indicated in the *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* are scenes of the festival at Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto, which were located in the Upper Chamber. The plan indicates that other Kyoto scenes were painted in the Second Room (Ni-no-ma) and the Storage Space (Nando-gamae).[64] The *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* also shows that four adjacent rooms were painted with scenes of Kyoto, famous sites of Itsukushima, and flowers-and-birds, among other themes. The paintings may have been comparable in appearance to scenes of festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine from the Enman'in Shinden. According to one scholar, it is likely that many genre scenes such as these with "elegant female subjects"—the specialty of Sadanobu, who oversaw the project—originally appeared at Tōfukumon'in's palace.[65]

A second relevant document is a hand-drawn, annotated diagram dated by inscription to 1619 and entitled the *Genna nenjū kinchū onna goyō gotaimen goten* (Palace of the Empress of the Genna Era [1615–1624]).[66] This document names artists who painted in the Taimenjo, the formal reception building and the most important public structure at the Empress's Palace. The named painters were leading figures in the Kano atelier. Each room in the

Taimenjo was allotted to a single Kano artist; following family protocol the head of the workshop, Sadanobu, is credited with painting the sliding-door panels in the most important room, the Upper Chamber.[67] The other chambers were assigned according to the artists' ranking within the atelier. The chamber next to the Upper Room, usually known as the Second Room but referred to here as the Adjoining Room (Tsugi-no-ma), was assigned to Jinnojō, who was older than Sadanobu but lower within the Kano hierarchy. The Third Room (San-no-ma) went to Tan'yū, who was the son of Takanobu and still a teenager. The Court Noble's Room (Kugyō-no-ma) was given to Kōi (d. 1636), and the room next to it went to Sahei (also Sahōye; act. early 17th century). Within the Kano workshop, all of these painters except Tan'yū had been closely affiliated with Mitsunobu. Although young, Tan'yū was already recognized as a talented painter when called to work at the palace of Tōfukumon'in, which was his first opportunity to participate in a major commission for the Tokugawa. As discussed in Chapter 3, Tan'yū's father, Takanobu, had served as a leading painter at court until his death in 1618 and had overseen the decoration of Go-Mizunoo's recently completed palace. While Takanobu had been in the service of the court, Tan'yū was already employed by the Tokugawa.

Eventually Tan'yū would become the most prominent Kano artist of his generation, and historians credit him with restoring the Kano workshop to its status as the leading painting atelier of the day. While working on Tōfukumon'in's palace, however, Tan'yū was still developing his distinctive style for large-scale interior painting, identified by strong brushwork, simple compositions, and expanses of empty space. That style would be appreciated by leading patrons in the bakufu and the *dairi*. On three later occasions—circa 1642, 1655, and 1662—Tan'yū would return to Kyoto to produce paintings for newly renovated buildings at the imperial palace.

Is it only historical coincidence that a number of sections of extant painting from Tōfukumon'in's palace seem to survive, while so few other palace panel fragments remain from the first three decades of the seventeenth century? Tōfukumon'in's panels were greatly prized in their day for their fine workmanship and expensive materials. Just as the exteriors of Tōfukumon'in's Nyōgo Gosho impressed visitors with a message that this new empress was a personage in her own right, so the interiors of her palace presumably bespoke the wealth and power of her natal family. Later generations must have treasured these buildings and their painted interiors, caring for them as they did for few other structures or paintings, in part explaining why their original location is remembered. Some might argue, on the other hand, that the purported pedigrees of the paintings in question may be fictitious, invented precisely because the empress was so famous. Whatever the case, young Tōfukumon'in presumably did not commission either artists or subjects for her palace interiors; the work was apparently done before she even arrived in Kyoto. The palace she lived in had been ordered for her by the Tokugawa, motivated in part by a desire to remind the imperial family and the nobles of her family lineage.

Grand as Tōfukumon'in's surroundings were, they did not make her position an easy one. Awkward situations often arose due to conflicting loyalties to her natal bakufu family and her marital *dairi* family. Her high standing from birth was a Tokugawa endowment, but she would come to be defined by the prestige of her husband, the emperor. Nevertheless, in her own right, she would exert a profound influence on the court, as well as on Kyoto at large.

ROLES OF NOBLEWOMEN IN THE EARLY EDO-PERIOD COURT

Women's contributions to early modern Japanese culture have yet to be fully integrated into Japanese art history, making it valuable to explore the documents on Tōfukumon'in and on women's roles at court, as well as Tōfukumon'in's contribution as a major patron of fine arts. A number of diary entries and official records survive from her lifetime. We also know of nearly ten letters by Tōfukumon'in's

own hand, although to the regret of art historians they make no mention of artistic interests.[68] Again regrettably, no diary by Tōfukumon'in is known to exist, but diaries of other early Edo-period aristocrats attest to her place at the heart of elite culture in the ancient capital.

Two diaries are particularly useful, one kept by a relative of Go-Mizunoo—his father's cousin Hōrin Jōshō—and another by Go-Mizunoo's daughter, Princess Tsuneko. Hōrin, who served as abbot of Rokuonji, recorded a number of references to retired empress Tōfukumon'in in his diary, the *Kakumei-ki*. For example, an entry of 1640 relates: "I went to the home of Lord Shibayama (Shibayama Nobutoyo; 1612–1690), who serves in the Office of the Palace Table (*Daizenshiki*), and borrowed a hanging scroll that had been made by Tōfukumon'in."[69] Princess Tsuneko, who kept the *Mujōhōin-dono gonikki* (Diary of Mujōhōin; kept from 1666 to 1700), also gives accounts of Tōfukumon'in's lifestyle in retirement. Tsuneko describes the elegant entertainments at Tōfukumon'in's parties; at one gathering, for example, young girls danced to musical accompaniment surrounded by lanterns hanging from trees and floating on water.[70] Tsuneko's diary also testifies to the frequent gift-giving that established Tōfukumon'in's reputation for munificence. Perhaps most of all, Tsuneko appreciated gifts of kimono and textiles from Tōfukumon'in.

In the seventeenth century the growing influence of imperial wives and mothers—which resulted to a large degree from Tōfukumon'in's marriage to Go-Mizunoo and her daughter's accession to the throne in 1630—demonstrates the intersection of gender and familial relationships in determining who held sway at the court. In the shadowy *dairi* milieu a few early Edo-period women became highly influential, but far fewer than in certain earlier eras. Heian-period women from elite backgrounds often held positions with substantial responsibility at the palace. Court ladies managed the private daily affairs of the emperor, and the emperor's official wife formed her own household (*ie*). Some Heian noblewomen became literate, and a handful achieved renown as poets (such as Lady Ise) and writers (such as Murasaki Shikibu).

From the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, female officials exercised considerable authority at court.[71] In the Age of the Country at War, a woman was appointed as "female assistant to the major counselor" (*dainagon no suke no tsubone*), the highest female officer at court who took responsibility for the private affairs of the emperor's staff and family. A lady of second rank, holding the title of "female palace attendant" (*kōtō no naishi*), managed palace finances and external affairs for the imperial household. The female palace attendant had a great deal of influence as an intermediary between the emperor and those seeking to communicate with him; during the Age of the Country at War the female palace attendant issued the emperor's private wishes in writing, in documents known as "ladies' memorials" (*nyōbō hōsho*).[72] At times monarchs copied the script and phrasing conventions of *nyōbō hōsho* to send directives and other messages in the guise of a female palace attendant.

During the sixteenth century, as the distinction between public and private statements became blurred, the role of female officers at court expanded even further, and female palace attendants took responsibility for issuing both statements on external affairs and ladies' memorials. The importance of high-ranking women in managing the court at this time is demonstrated in the *Oyudononoue no nikki*, an official journal kept by ladies-in-waiting at the imperial court.[73] The lady-secretaries who kept the *Oyudononoue no nikki* noted the events at court, along with the visitors and gifts received there.

Female palace attendants continued to issue ladies' memorials into the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the *Oyudononoue no nikki* entries reveal that the power of female palace attendants diminished with the increasing influence of imperial mothers and wives. One example of a letter in the format of a lady's memorial from the late sixteenth century is found today in the Fujii Eikan Bunko (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto); in this case, it was Emperor Ōgimachi who issued the message (fig. 55).[74] As in ladies' memorials, this is

written in abbreviated Japanese syllabary with lines of "scattered writing" (*chirashi gaki*). The directive—unsigned as was traditional—was sent by Ōgimachi to the Controller of the Right (*udaiben*), requesting that poetic themes be prepared for Tanabata festivities.[75]

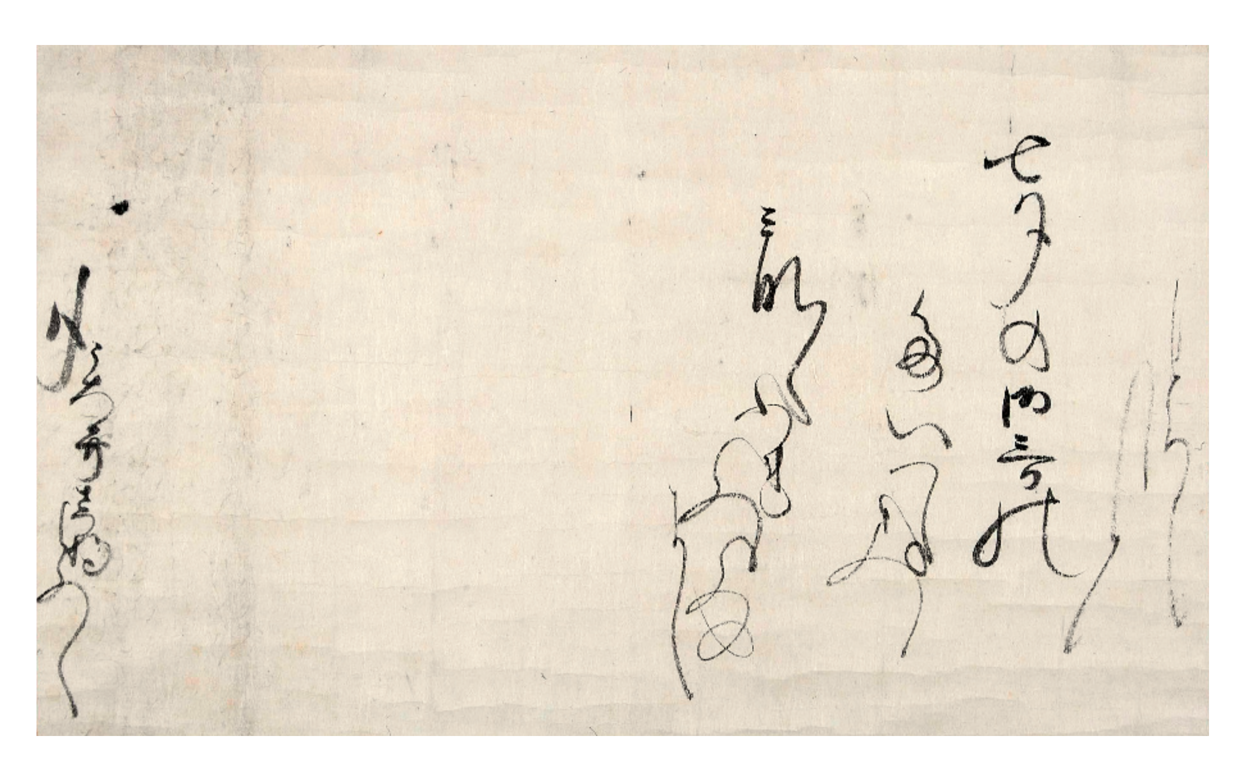
Many things were changing during Tōfukumon'in's lifetime, but one thing that remained the same was the reality of arranged marriages for women of leading warrior families such as hers. With much political and social authority in the hands of male clan heads, ranking warrior families relied upon patrilocal marriage and patrilineal descent, providing the women from military families with less economic opportunity and making them dependent on their fathers and brothers, who typically arranged youthful marriages for them, often in their teenage years. The rights of these elite women had been curtailed under earlier military regimes, but the early modern social order only exacerbated their situation.[76]

We often read that a woman's worth in the Edo period was realized in marriage by serving her husband and his family as a mother and as an efficient manager of the household. That, at least, was the prescribed role for a woman as given in didactic literature of the day, including most notably the *Onna daigaku* (Greater Learning for Women), which is widely attributed to the Neo-Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekken (Ekiken; 1630–1714).[77] The *Onna daigaku* was originally intended for training daughters of leading warrior families, but it came to be used as a copybook to teach women to read and write. While it follows Confucian injunctions on female subservience, the *Onna daigaku* exhorts women to become literate, thus indicating that in some respects more was expected of women in this period.[78] Notwithstanding that the new social order crafted by military overlords and their advisors is widely acknowledged to have been authoritarian and patriarchal, allowing women few legal rights or ownership opportunities, more women were experiencing the benefits of education, gaining access to reading materials in print, and finding employment outside the home. Thus, despite the rather dismal picture of women's restricted place found in didactic literature, certain female figures made contributions of historical consequence. These women worked mostly in private settings, and it is no surprise that women of the court, itself a sequestered space, were rarely active in the public realm.

Tōfukumon'in's grandfather, Tokugawa Ieyasu, had attempted to create pacts of trust by marrying female family members into other military families, including the Toyotomi, Honda, Hōjō, Takeda, Okudaira, Asano, Asai, and Gamō. To establish peace with the enemy Hōjō clan, for example, Ieyasu sent his second daughter, Tokuhime (Ryōshōin; 1575–1615), to marry Hōjō Ujinao (1562–1591). Similarly, Ieyasu sent Senhime (Tenjūin; 1597–1666), Hidetada's daughter, to be married at age seven to the heir of the Toyotomi clan, Hideyori. After Hideyori's defeat and death in 1615, Ieyasu arranged a second marriage for Senhime to the heir of the lord of Himeji Castle, Honda Tadatoki (1596–1626).[79] Just as many daughters of warrior blood such as Tokuhime and Senhime were married into a warrior family to seal an accord, many daughters of aristocratic birth were married to military lords, bringing with them an inheritance of courtly prestige. From the mid-seventeenth century on it was common for the Tokugawa and other warrior clans to introduce into their families wives and consorts from the upper echelons of the Kyoto aristocracy.[80]

Marriages arranged for political purposes may have been the norm in leading families of Tōfukumon'in's day, but her marriage was unique. It was an unusual instance in which a woman from a warrior family was wed to the emperor. Emperors typically took wives from among the aristocracy. Also unusual was the conferral upon Tōfukumon'in of the ancient titles *kōgō* and *chūgū*—both translated as "empress"—two titles that had been awarded in earlier centuries to wives of emperors.[81] Recent imperial consorts, however, had not been so designated.

In the seventh century, when Japan had adopted the Chinese bureaucratic system, there had been an empress, referred to as *kōgō*, who was descended from one of the leading noble clans. From the tenth



55 Emperor Ōgimachi. Letter in the format of an imperial directive (*nyōbō hōsho*). Late 16th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 27.3 x 45.8 cm. Fujii Eikan Bunko, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto.

through the thirteenth centuries, many emperors had two main wives of roughly equal status, one titled *kōgō* and the other *chūgū*.[82] From the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, however, these titles fell into disuse. By the sixteenth century emperors tended to do without a main wife, keeping one or a few court women as consorts instead because the impoverished state of the imperial household made it impossible to maintain the empress's role. Rarely were the sixteenth-century consorts descended from the five leading noble clans, or *go-sekke*, families of the Fujiwara line from which the highest officials of the Kyoto court had customarily been chosen in earlier centuries. Those consorts enjoyed fewer opportunities to play a prominent role. Go-Mizunoo's mother, Konoe Sakiko, was an exception as she had been born into a leading noble clan. Even more exceptional was Tōfukumon'in. Although Tōfukumon'in lived her entire life under circumscribed conditions—first in the shogunal household and then in the imperial palace—over the course of her first decades at court she emerged as a central figure, both socially and culturally.

TŌFUKUMON'IN, ART, AND RELIGION

Among other things, Tōfukumon'in was an active sponsor of culture and the arts. Records of Tōfukumon'in's cultural activities in her early years in Kyoto give the impression that, in her first decade as empress, she dedicated herself to studying courtly traditions. At the same time, it seems, she began introducing new events to the palace and commissioning new forms of art; the first record of a Dolls' Festival (*Hina no tai no mono*; later *Hina asobi*, *Hina matsuri*) is one that she hosted in 1625.[83] It is easy to imagine that as she matured she took an even stronger personal interest in selecting subjects

and styles for artworks that she ordered and in choosing the artists or shops from which to purchase decorative and devotional objects, and it is noteworthy that the arts she sponsored were often different from those of her husband. From the various documentary sources we learn that Tōfukumon'in surrounded herself with luxurious objects, and she was a voracious consumer of goods from Kyoto's textile industry.

Tōfukumon'in's investment in costume was in no way extraordinary, as women from ranking families in Edo-period Japan typically spent prodigally on clothing. Tōfukumon'in purchased costumes both for herself and for companions at court. Between 1624 and 1644 she ordered a great quantity of fabric decorated with a delicate scattering of small images with courtly and auspicious connotations, known as palace-dyed designs (*goshozome*). Though likely reflecting her own refined sensibilities, records show that much of this she presented to others.[84] The subdued palace-dyed designs were considered tasteful and appropriate for court ladies, and consequently, they also became popular among women from leading warrior families. Extant documents confirm reports that Tōfukumon'in loved richly ornamented apparel as well; many gorgeously decorated garments are described in an order book, entitled the *Nyoin goshosama goyō gofuku*



56 Long red outer robe and green outer jacket from a set of court garments for women owned by Empress Tōfukumon'in. 17th century. Both, embroidered and dyed silk with plain silk linings. Long robe: H. 205.5 cm; jacket: H. 85.5 cm. Reikanji, Kyoto.

kakiage chō (Garment Orders from the Retired Empress), from the Kariganeya, a Kyoto textile shop.[85]

While Tōfukumon'in often wore garments that followed recent trends in elegant dress, on formal court occasions she donned a set of traditional aristocratic garments for women, *jūni hitoe* (literally, "twelve unlined robes"). One extant set of her ceremonial robes—including a long outer robe (*uwagi*) of red silk and a shorter outer jacket (*karaginu*) of green silk, both embroidered with white crests of the imperial chrysanthemum—has been preserved at the *monzeki* nunnery of Reikanji in Kyoto (fig. 56).[86] This set is one of the few full costumes owned by Tōfukumon'in to survive. In fact, it is the oldest known complete set of *jūni hitoe*. Over the outer green and red robes was the *mo*, or train (an apron-like skirt), which was worn trailing down the back (fig. 57). It is painted in black, green, and gold, with phoenix amidst bamboo and paulownia trees. In addition to the many garments in the Reikanji set, there are several accompanying pieces, including a cypress folding fan again painted with phoenix and paulownia.

Tōfukumon'in is shown wearing *jūni hitoe* in a seventeenth-century wooden sculpture of her, one of the oldest extant portraits of an empress (fig. 58). She sits upon a tatami dais holding a folded fan and



57 Train from same set as fig. 56.



58 *Portrait of Empress Tōfukumon'in.* 17th century. Wooden sculpture with gofun, ink, colors, and gold. H. 45 cm. Kōunji, Kyoto.

with an elaborate metal headdress, just as she must have appeared at the most formal of palace ceremonies. Tōfukumon'in's outer robe is painted with scrolling floral designs on a green ground, and at each shoulder there is a large Tokugawa triple-*aoi* crest. This highly idealized portrait remains anonymous, but based on analysis of style and materials it has been dated to the late seventeenth century, just after Tōfukumon'in's death.[87] The sculpture is preserved at Kōunji, now a subtemple of Nanzenji in eastern Kyoto. Kōunji was restored by Tōfukumon'in in the 1660s, and it preserves many objects donated there by the retired empress and her family.[88]

Tōfukumon'in showed her love of fine textile by making figural works of art fashioned from bits of fabric. These works, known as *oshi-e*, are stiff paper cut-outs wrapped with fabric that are pasted on silk or paper. Creating *oshi-e* was primarily an interest of elite women, first aristocratic ladies and later women from warrior families.[89] Over ten *oshi-e* by Tōfukumon'in are known to survive, about half being representations of Immortal Poets.[90]

Tōfukumon'in's daughter Empress Meishō also made *oshi-e*, including one representing *Tenjin Crossing the Sea to Tang China* (*Totō tenjin-zō*; fig. 59).[91] This image, preserved at Kōshōji in Uji, captures the divine form of Sugawara no Michizane (845–903), the Heian-period statesman, scholar, and poet who came to be worshipped as a Shinto divinity (*tenjin*) at Kyoto's Kitano Tenmangū. Ow-

ing to his reputation as Japan's leading master of Chinese poetic styles, a story spread of the Tenjin traveling in a dream to China where he met the Chan priest Wuzhun Shifan (J: Bujun Shiban; 1177–1249) and then achieving enlightenment. In Meishō's image, as in many other images of *Tenjin Crossing the Sea*, a standing Tenjin wears a Daoist hooded robe. Accordingly, the subject conveys a notion of the unification of three creeds: Shinto, Buddhism, and Daoism.[92]

In addition to Tōfukumon'in's numerous other interests and activities, we know from extant documents that she was an adherent of Buddhism and a leading sponsor of religious institutions. Women from the imperial family had long been supporters of temples and convents, despite Buddhist notions of female impurity. Many court women had focused their devotion on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hoke-kyō*), whose parables and tales suggest that enlightenment is possible for women as well as for men. Numerous noblewomen of Tōfukumon'in's day sponsored or wrote copies of the *Lotus Sutra*.

Several noblewomen emulated female figures said to be manifestations of Buddhist divinities, including one of the thirty-three manifestations of the bodhisattva of compassion known as Merōfu Kannon (C: Malangfu Guanyin). Tōfukumon'in personally created at least four *oshi-e* with images of Merōfu Kannon, who used her physical beauty to bring beings to enlightenment.[93] This bodhisattva was thought to have appeared in Tang-period China, promising to marry the man who was able to memorize the *Lotus Sutra*. Isshi Monju (also read Bunju or Bunshu; 1607/8–1645/6) of Daitokuji, a Zen cleric who delivered sermons to Tōfukumon'in and other members of the imperial family, adopted Merōfu Kannon as a religious theme in poems and writings, including examples that were known to women of the imperial family.[94] Apparently inspired by Isshi, Tōfukumon'in contributed funds and *oshi-e* of Merōfu Kannon to Enshōji in Nara, Eigenji in Shiga, and several other institutions overseen by Isshi and his followers.[95]

Tōfukumon'in supported a number of Buddhist institutions, and many of these temples and nunneries preserve devotional images thought to have been owned by her.[96] For example, there is a hanging scroll painting preserved at Unryūin in Kyoto that is said to have originally been in the possession of Tōfukumon'in (fig. 60). The work, entitled *Descent of Amida and His Attendant Bodhisattvas* (*Amida raigō-zu*), bears the signature of its maker: a son of Go-Mizunoo, the tonsured Prince Gyōjo. According to an inscription on the lid of the box in which the scroll is stored, this icon of the Buddha of the Western Paradise was once worshipped by the empress.



59 Empress Meishō. *Tenjin Crossing the Sea to Tang China*. 17th century. Detail of a fabric *oshi-e* mounted as a hanging scroll. 64 x 27 cm. Kōshōji, Uji.

Tōfukumon'in contributed to *monzeki* where her children or other close relatives who had left the court were residing and to other religious or-



60 Tonsured Prince Gyōjo. *Descent of Amida and His Attendant Bodhisattvas*. Late 17th century. Detail of a hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 69 x 34 cm. Unryūin, Kyoto.

ganizations, as well. Some of the temples and nunneries said to have been sponsored by the emperor or by the shogun were actually supported by Tōfukumon'in.[97] Many of Tōfukumon'in's donations to temples and convents seem to have been motivated in part by generosity rather than simply by familial piety or dynastic ambition.[98] That generosity did allow Tōfukumon'in to establish and maintain good relations with people in and outside of the *dairi*, however. Although no records exist to prove the point, certainly she was instructed from a young age on the importance of gift-giving to smooth over potential difficulties at court, understanding that she was key to the bakufu plans for the *dairi*.

Those difficulties included one directly resulting from Tōfukumon'in's marriage, which had caused the emperor's separation from the aforementioned Oyotsu, mother of his first two children. In preparation for Tōfukumon'in's entry into the *dairi*, Oyotsu and her two children had been given a separate residence outside the court. The son died young, but the daughter survived into old age, remaining on close terms with her father to the end. It is probably no exaggeration to say that when Tōfukumon'in entered the court, she "sat on a throne of pins and needles."[99] It must have been evident to Tōfukumon'in that there were those at court who considered her an outsider, even a Tokugawa spy.[100]

Once Tōfukumon'in gave birth to her first child, in the eleventh month of 1623, her position improved. The child was Princess Okiko, later to become reigning Empress Meishō and successor to Go-Mizunoo on the throne. In 1624, seemingly as a consequence of having provided offspring, Tōfukumon'in rose in rank from *nyōgo* to *chūgū*.[101] Over the next ten years Tōfukumon'in gave birth to seven more children, indicating that the imperial couple maintained an intimate relationship. Some authors claim that Tōfukumon'in was protected by her mother-in-law, Chūkamon'in, supposedly a wise and kind-hearted woman who was responsible for the success of her son's marriage to Tōfukumon'in.[102]

From 1620 on Tōfukumon'in restricted herself geographically to the palace and its environs, never once returning to Edo.[103] A trip home would have been very costly; moreover, it might have suggested the failure of her marriage. The political connotations of such a trip would have proved problematic for both the shogun and the emperor. The frequency of Tōfukumon'in's contacts with the Tokugawa, evident from comments in extant letters and diary entries, attests to her intention to maintain courteous relations with her family long after her father had relinquished the title of shogun. In the seventh month of 1623, two years after seeing his daughter enter the court, Tokugawa Hidetada stepped down, naming his son Iemitsu as the new shogun. Tōfukumon'in sent frequent gifts to Iemitsu and his son, Ietsuna, the fourth Tokugawa shogun, which was one way she preserved links with her natal family.[104] At New Year's she often sent an envoy to Edo to present large gold coins to the shogun. Presumably the coins were a token gift, as the shogunate was clearly richer than the court. In exchange, the bakufu regularly presented her with a gift of salmon for which she returned a letter of thanks.[105]

Although Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in married for political reasons, to all appearances they learned to live together harmoniously.[106] Tokugawa intrusions into the court's domain, however, continued unabated. Tokugawa leaders may have made magnanimous shows of support for the imperial family—as when Hidetada gave Go-Mizunoo land valued at 10,000 *koku*, doubling the private income of the imperial family three years after the marriage, and when the shogun hosted the imperial family at Nijō Castle, as described in the next chapter—but at the same time the Tokugawa did not abate in their determination to restrict members of the imperial family to ceremonial and cultural pursuits.[107]



6

Paintings of the Imperial Excursion to Nijō Castle

If the marriage of Emperor Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in were not enough to demonstrate Tokugawa plans to dominate the *dairi* and establish bakufu control over the ancient capital, those plans were clearly expressed by the Kan'ei imperial excursion (*Kan'ei gyōkō*) of 1626, when the Tokugawa hosted—or rather, summoned—the imperial family for a five-day excursion to their Kyoto stronghold, Nijō Castle. Authors of official accounts of the Kan'ei imperial excursion describe the costly affair in celebratory terms, as a confirmation of the close ties that the Tokugawa had formed with the imperial household.[1] It was actually another demonstration, to the court and to the populace, of Tokugawa mastery.

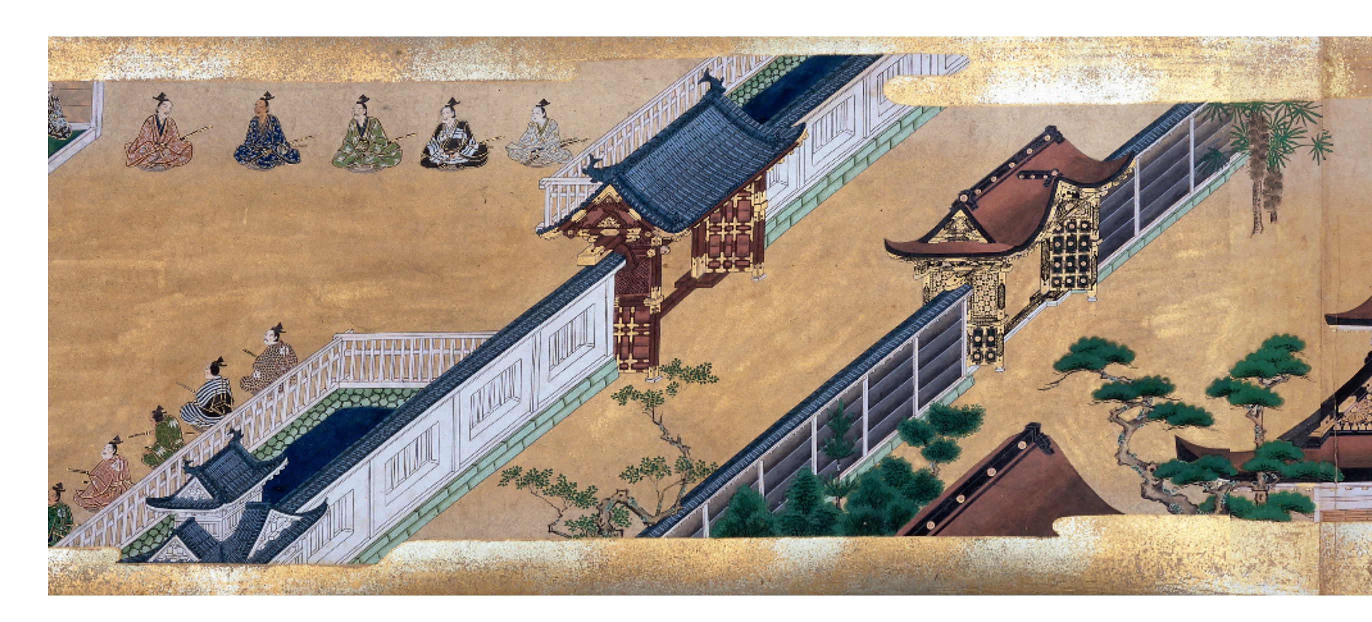
Visual testimony of the lavish display and the grand entertainments prepared by the Tokugawa exists in several sets of paintings, including a set of five scrolls entitled *Procession for the Imperial Excursion to Nijō of Empress Tōfukumon'in and Emperor Go-Mizunoo and the Trip to Kyoto of the Second Tokugawa Shogun Hidetada in 1626* (*Kan'ei sannen hinoe tora Tōfukumon'in jūdai ni tsuke Go-Mizunoo tennō Nijō e gyōkō robo oyobi Tokugawa nidai shōgun Hidetada jōraku emakimono*; referred to hereafter as the *Nijō Imperial Excursion*; fig. 61). This set of scrolls, in the possession of the Imperial Household Collection for the past century, represents the excursion in vibrant color and meticulous detail. Since the emperor rarely left his palace seclusion, the procession of carriages transporting the monarch and his family through the streets of Kyoto to Nijō Castle was an overt display of Tokugawa power, recalling the earlier procession of Emperor Go-Yōzei to the Jurakutei of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

PRECEDENTS AND PREPARATIONS FOR AN IMPERIAL VISIT

Hidetada began preparing for the Kan'ei imperial excursion more than two years in advance. He personally organized the event and served as the emperor's host, even though he had relinquished the title of shogun to his son Iemitsu three years earlier. Hidetada's daughter, Empress Tōfukumon'in, was by now the mother of two children by Go-Mizunoo. Two years after giving birth to Princess Okiko in 1623, she gave birth to another girl, Princess Teruko.

To convey his wishes that the emperor be received in great splendor at Nijō, Hidetada called on top officials in Kyoto and Edo to assist with the arrangements. At court, chancellor Konoe Nobuhiro, Go-Mizunoo's younger brother and adopted son of Konoe Nobutada, was enlisted along with others to organize the event, but it was the bakufu advisor Ishin Sūden who laid much of the groundwork for the Kan'ei imperial excursion.[2] The location for the visit, Nijō Castle, had been built several decades

Kano painter. Go-Mizunoo's palanquin from *Nijō Imperial Excursion*, detail of fig. 66.



61 Kano painter. Nijō Castle from *Nijō Imperial Excursion.* 17th century. Detail of scroll one from a set of five handscrolls; ink, colors, and gold on paper. H. 33.5 cm. Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.

earlier by Tokugawa Ieyasu and had become a staging ground for Tokugawa displays of power. Nijō Castle served more as the Tokugawa administrative headquarters in the ancient capital than as a military bastion; in fact, it had a minimal garrison. The castle is pictured in the left screen from the pair with *Scenes in and around Kyoto* in the Burke Foundation, which is loosely dated to several years after the Kan'ei imperial excursion (fig. 62).[3]

A number of imperial family members participated in the Kan'ei imperial excursion: not only Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in, but their daughters and Go-Mizunoo's mother, Chūkamon'in. Reading between the lines, we realize that the Tokugawa did not mean the visit merely as an opportunity to cement a bond with the imperial family, but also as a chance to impress upon those at Nijō—as well as citizens at large who were bound to hear of and possibly even see the procession—that the Tokugawa were true masters of the land. The procession of carriages that transported the imperial family through the streets of Kyoto was a display of shogunal power in that a warrior lord was summoning Go-Mizunoo away from his palace.

The Kan'ei imperial excursion recalled three previous events, discussed in Chapter 1: the visit of Emperor Go-Komatsu to the Kitayama palace of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono to the Muromachi palace of Ashikaga Yoshinori, and the visit of Emperor Go-Yōzei to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Jurakutei. Many spectators viewing Go-Mizunoo's procession to Nijō must have heard of the opulent festivities that had occurred at Jurakutei. Some might even have witnessed Go-Yōzei's procession in person.

The Tokugawa decided to adhere to many of the precedents set by Hideyoshi in hosting Go-Yōzei at Jurakutei. They determined that events would unfold as follows. First the shogun, Iemitsu, would go to the imperial palace and meet the emperor to launch the excursion. The imperial guests would then process to Nijō with scores of nobles and hundreds of servants in attendance. The shogun would entertain the imperial guests for five days with performances, festivities, and displays of art. He would lavish gifts on his guests, and finally, after the imperial family had returned home to the palace, the shogun would pay them a visit and offer thanks for





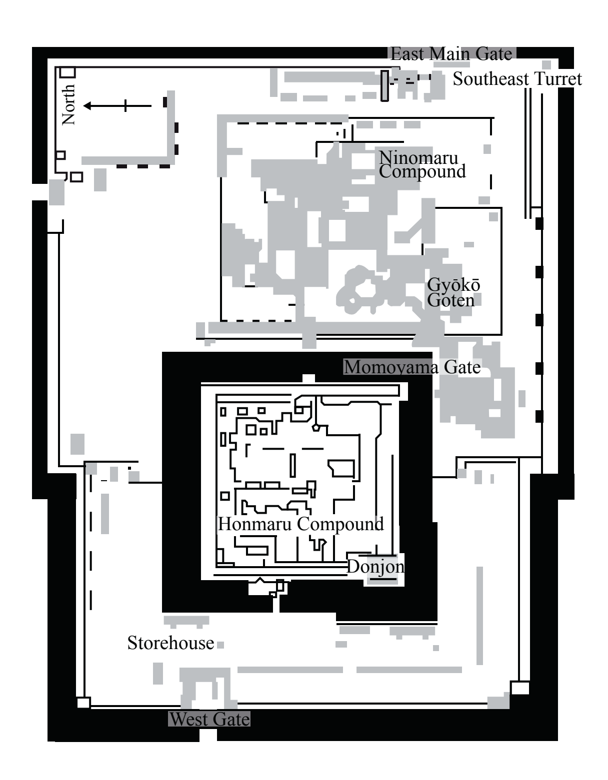
62 Nijō Castle from *Scenes in and around the Capital.* Ca. 1629. Detail of pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 156.1 x 352.2 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York. Photograph by Bruce Schwarz (detail of fig. 5).

letting him sponsor the event. The Tokugawa followed Hideyoshi's protocol for the Jurakutei visit, but decided they would prepare a superior affair all around, guaranteeing that the imperial visit was a public relations coup, as the earlier wedding of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in had been.

In preparation for the Kan'ei imperial excursion, Hidetada had ordered six magistrates, including Kobori Enshū, to supervise renovation and expansion of Nijō Castle. The Nakai family was hired to undertake actual building, their work commencing in the seventh month of 1624.[4] Enshū—who served as a Tokugawa retainer and was employed to oversee several major construction projects—had contributed to the Empress's Palace several years earlier, as previously explained. Work at Nijō included enlarging the grounds to include a new Honmaru Compound with a multi-storied donjon, refurbishing the old Honmaru Compound as the Ninomaru Palace to function as the shogun's quarters, and constructing three imperial suites surrounded by landscaped gardens (fig. 63). Thus we see once again that the Tokugawa desire to house and entertain court leaders created a boom in construction projects in early seventeenth-century Kyoto. Indeed, the revival of Kyoto in substantial measure was sponsored by the Tokugawa, with the imperial family as its focus.

The imperial suites comprised an Emperor's Visitation Palace (Gyōkō Goten) for Go-Mizunoo and his attendants; an Empress's Visitation Palace (Chūgū Goten) for Tōfukumon'in, her two young daughters, and their attendants; as well as a Visitation Palace for the Retired Empress (Nyoin Goten), Chūkamon'in. The guest suites contained audience rooms and private chambers; the grounds featured ornamental rocks, trees, shrubs, and a large pond designed by Enshū. Imperial suites in the Nijō Visitation Palaces were connected by corridors and arranged on a staggered plan, allowing guests to view the garden from many rooms. They were smaller than the shogun's quarters at Nijō, but more finely finished. The Visitation Palaces at Nijō would be moved a number of years after their construction, and eventually all were lost to fire.[5]

The final stages in preparing Nijō for the imperial excursion included providing the newly constructed buildings with sliding-door panel paintings and selecting objects to display in the various rooms. Presumably, it was Enshū who carefully coordinated the selection of interior furnishings. Some of the gatherings during the imperial visit occurred in the shogun's quarters, others in the emperor's chambers, and the character of artworks displayed at the two locations differed. Objects presented in the shogun's quarters followed the taste of shogunal displays of the Muromachi period. In contrast, many items arranged in Go-Mizunoo's chambers—which included paintings, incense burners and tea wares with gilded or lacquered surfaces—conformed to an aristocratic aesthetic that one scholar identifies as the "imperial palatial" (*shinden-zukuri*) manner of interior ornamentation.[6]



63 Diagram of Nijō Castle, including the Ninomaru Palace and the Emperor's Visitation Palace.

PAINTINGS COMMISSIONED FOR NIJŌ CASTLE

The large-scale painting in the shogun's and emperor's quarters at Nijō Castle differed considerably. Although the paintings from the emperor's quarters do not survive, their painters and their appearance are known from documentary sources such as the *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten on-e tsuke onsashi-zu* (Instructions Regarding the Paintings of the Emperor's Visitation Palace at Nijō Castle).[7] We learn from these records that, as in everything regarding the court, political motives directed the Tokugawa choices of themes for sliding-door panel paintings in the emperor's quarters.[8] The panels for the emperor's quarters were painted by artists of the Kano atelier, including Tan'yū, Sanraku, and Jinnojō, aided by Naganobu (1577–1654), Naonobu (1607–1650), Geki (1607–1658), Yasunobu (1613–1685), and others. It was Tan'yū who painted the main reception hall, one of many indications that he was now the artist with the highest profile in the Kano family.

According to notations on the *Instructions*, eleven rooms in the emperor's quarters contained paintings. Although notations indicating subjects painted in three rooms are illegible, those for the other eight rooms have been deciphered and all can be identified as Chinese themes. One room had scenes of the Four Accomplishments (*kinkishoga*); another had painted panels of Tao Yuanming (J: Tō Enmei); two rooms featured scenes of Mongols or Tartars (*dattanjin*); and four featured Chinese exemplars. The figures pictured in the Four Accomplishments and scenes of Tao Yuanming were acclaimed poets, musicians, and cultured individuals—all with an esteemed scholarly pedigree—however, these were subjects associated in Japan with painting for warrior lords. Japanese paintings of Mongols and Tartars were created for warrior sponsors, as well. For over a century, this subject was understood to ennoble martial training, such as hunting.

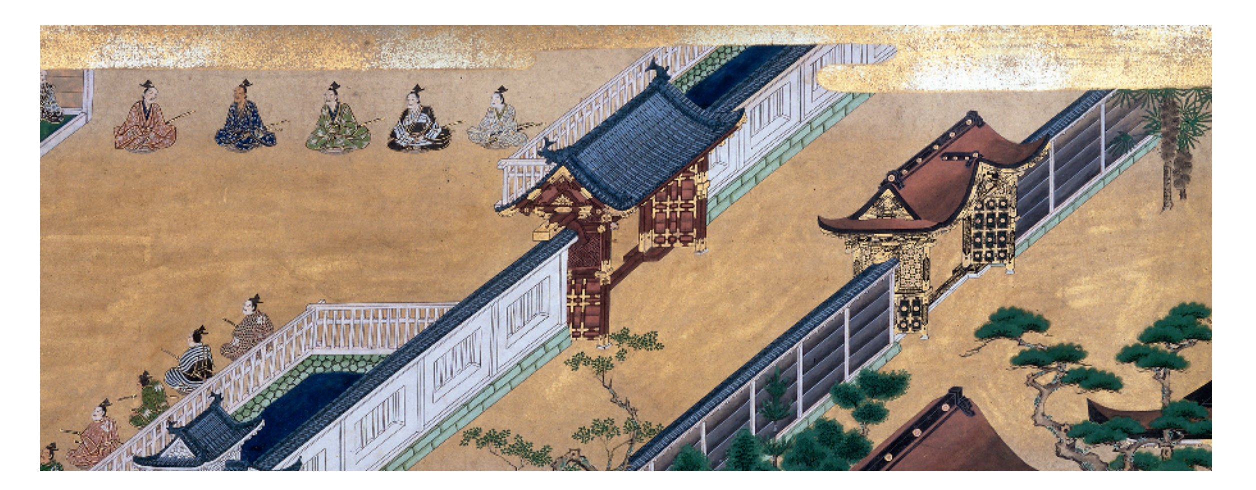
Four rooms in the emperor's quarters had paintings of Chinese exemplars, which featured emperors of old, but this theme had been only recently identified as a set category in Japan. The Chinese exemplars derived from an illustrated book recently imported from China, the *Teikan zusetsu* (The Emperor's Mirror, An Illustrated Discussion; C: *Dijian tushuo*), a treatise on the commendable versus reprehensible actions of rulers.[9] Printed in China in 1573, this treatise was brought to Japan within a few decades, perhaps at the time of Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea. In 1606 a copy of the *Teikan zusetsu*, based on the text passed down in the Toyotomi family collection, was issued in print and aroused a surge of interest. Kano Sanraku painted a pair of six-panel folding screens with themes from the *Teikan zusetsu*, and several Kano painters collaborated on another pair of six-panel screens with figures from this text (both pairs of screens are in the Tokyo National Museum).[10]

Significantly, none of the themes of panel painting in the emperor's guest suite at Nijō accords precisely with the heritage of the imperial court. While there was a long history of panels with Chinese figures created for palace buildings, they were not the particular themes chosen for panels in the emperor's quarters at Nijō. Visual and textual documents clarify which Chinese figures were portrayed in the buildings of the imperial palace, as explained in previous chapters. Most notable of these, paintings of the Thirty-two Chinese Sages, had long been installed behind the imperial throne in the Shishinden (fig. 31). In addition, Tang figures (*Tōjinbutsu-zu*)—a fragment of which perhaps survives as a screen preserved at Ninnaji (fig. 37)—were found in the Upper Chamber of Go-Mizunoo's Seiryōden and in two rooms of his Tsunegoten, according to the plan of the Keichō Palace. However, at Nijō Castle the monarch's quarters had neither the Thirty-two Sages nor Tang figures; they had other Chinese figures. As art historian Karen Gerhart persuasively argues, the particular Chinese figures found in Go-Mizunoo's guest suite at Nijō were "… connected with warrior-class patronage and all had been imported to Japan during eras of military dominance."[11]

Go-Mizunoo would likely have understood that the scenes portrayed in the emperor's suite at Nijō



64 Kano painter. *Nijō Castle from Nijō Imperial Excursion*. 17th century. Detail of scroll one from a set of five handscrolls; ink, colors, and gold on paper. H. 33.5 cm. Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo (detail of fig. 61).



65 Kano painter. Nijō Castle gates, from same set as above.

were not those he saw in the palace. Even though many of the artists were the same Kano school painters responsible for painting panels and screens for the imperial palace, they had depicted different themes in his Nijō chambers. The scenes presented in the imperial quarters at Nijō nominally honored emperors as rulers, but they shone an even stronger light on the *de facto* warrior rulers and their own appropriation of Chinese themes. Thus, even though Go-Mizunoo's sponsorship of printing projects and palace lectures on Chinese classics promoted an imperial ideology with centuries' old cultural and political dimensions, the Tokugawa realized opportunities to assert their own dominance by quoting sources that pointed to bakufu supremacy.

The fact that symbols incorporated into Nijō Castle design promoted the Tokugawa as true rulers is perhaps most evident in the placement of the various buildings on the precinct. The imperial quarters at Nijō faced north, origin of all threatening forces according to Chinese cosmological and geomantic theory. The shogun's quarters, however, sat opposite at the northeast to symbolically protect the imperial family.[12] The shogunal buildings thus

faced south onto the imperial suites, just as the Hall of State at the imperial palace faced south, origin of auspicious forces according to ancient Chinese notions. The Tokugawa were determined to glorify their own place even in situating buildings on the castle grounds and selecting themes of paintings in the emperor's guest suite, and these choices underscore the true Tokugawa intent regarding the imperial visit. Indeed, the very act of inviting the emperor to Nijō asserted Tokugawa power, demonstrating that at their command the sequestered emperor would have to leave his palace and pay them a visit.

NIJŌ IMPERIAL EXCURSION

In the early autumn of 1626 the new structures at Nijō were ready at last to host an imperial visit. Just before the end of summer Hidetada had made his way from Edo to Kyoto with Iemitsu and a group of warrior lords. Documents reveal that they stopped at a lodge along the way to attend a party hosted by Date Masamune (1567–1636), a leading warrior lord whose home region was Mutsu Province (much of the present-day Tōhoku district in northern Japan).[13] Arriving in Kyoto, the shogunal party waited until the morning of the sixth day of the ninth month, and then, as planned, they launched the Kan'ei imperial excursion. Numerous surviving documents, including a number that contain illustrations, describe the procession, lodgings, and festivities.[14] One is the aforementioned sumptuous set of handscrolls of the *Nijō Imperial Excursion* in the Imperial Household Collection, which although unsigned was evidently produced by one of the capital's leading painting workshops.[15]

The first scroll in the set opens with a richly colored aerial view of the castle, referred to here as Nijō gotei or the "Nijō Mansion" (fig. 64). The Nijō Mansion was truly more of a palatial residence than a defensive fortification, and yet the first structure pictured in the scroll is the multistoried donjon. The Tokugawa had moved this soaring structure from Fushimi Castle to serve as a landmark as well as a symbol of supremacy. During the Kan'ei imperial excursion, guests climbed up the donjon to appreciate its uniquely expansive view of the city; whether the imperial family also ascended the tower is not clear. Selecting this image to introduce the visual account of the imperial visit makes an important statement about the dominance of the Tokugawa in the ancient capital; indeed, messages with political overtones are embedded throughout the handscrolls.

Moving to the left in the handscroll, the roofs of several connected buildings appear beyond the donjon. Although unlabeled, these appear to be the structures of the Ninomaru Palace, the shogun's quarters.[16] Of the shogun's quarters, the painter chose to illustrate only a few structures, including several gabled halls and two gates. He apparently invoked artistic license to eliminate many of the structures between the donjon and the Waiting Area (Tōzamurai) of the shogun's quarters, substituting a few pine trees and bands of mist. The Waiting Area is identified by its gable bargeboards covered in black lacquer and decorated with gilt fittings. Projecting slightly toward the left from the Ninomaru complex is the roof of what must be the Carriage Entrance (Kurumayose), a main entry to the shogun's quarters. Farther to the left, beyond an open courtyard, appear two gates (fig. 65). The inner gate seems to be the Chinese Gate (Karamon) of the shogun's quarters, with its cusped gable (*karahafu*) and intricate relief carving. Blue-gray tiles cover the roof of the outer gate. Beyond to the left, a short bridge spans the moat.

Moving farther to the left in the first of the *Nijō Imperial Excursion* handscrolls we see the front of the grand entourage, with two parallel rows of palanquins borne by porters moving toward the right and approaching the main gates. Documentary sources relate that the entourage numbered in the thousands, and in the handscrolls, the most prominent members of the procession are identified in captions. In scroll 2 we encounter warrior lords and ranking courtiers, followed by attendants leading four ox-drawn carriages, which transport Chūkamon'in, Tōfukumon'in, and the two princesses, in that order.[17]

Scroll 3 of the *Nijō Imperial Excursion* handscrolls pictures the elegant palanquin of Go-Mizunoo, which is topped by a gilt phoenix and carried by scores of attendants clothed in white (fig. 66). None of the imperial personages appears; their finely adorned vehicles denote their presence. Court officials on horseback trail the emperor's palanquin, and behind them two rows of entertainers perform orchestral court music. We thus follow the imperial entourage as it moves down the streets of Higashinotōin and Horikawa toward the mansion. The figures progress from left to right, such that they arrive at the spot which the viewer first sees when opening the scroll. The fourth scroll depicts the final day of the imperial visit with a shogunal escort accompanying the visitors back to their home.

Scroll 5 consists of a number of long inscribed lists: festivities at the Nijō Mansion, including composing poems, staging Nō plays, and playing kickball; also the expensive gifts and generous sums of money that Hidetada and Iemitsu presented to the emperor, his family, and ranking nobles during their Nijō visit. The lists are written in elegant calligraphy that trails across underpainted mists of gold and silver.

Its elaborate detail and numerous inscriptions intimate that the *Nijō Imperial Excursion* handscrolls are a historically accurate rendition of the processions of aristocrats, warriors, attendants, and guards on their way to and from Nijō. We can also imagine, though they are not depicted, a huge crowd of bystanders lining both sides of the route. Some spectators must have been reminded of the wedding procession of Tōfukumon'in six years earlier, even of Go-Yōzei's imperial excursion to Jurakutei thirty-eight years earlier. The scenes pictured in the handscrolls—as in the screens of the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* discussed in the previous chapter or the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* discussed in the first chapter—would seem to be realistic portrayals, but despite their seeming verisimilitude, they are clearly interpretive, meant to convince viewers of a purported accord between leaders of the imperial and warrior parties (figs. 46, 2). Thus, even though the handscrolls are sometimes categorized as "record paintings," they participate in a selective construction of memory rather than an accurate historical recording.



66 Kano painter. Go-Mizunoo's palanquin, from the same set as figs. 64 and 65.

Given the lavish attention to fine detail, as well as the extensive use of costly materials, we can speculate that the handscrolls, like the screens of the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in*, must have been meant for someone of great means. It is even reasonable to speculate that the set, as well as the screens, were produced as a Tokugawa commission for presentation to an important retainer. Or the set



may have been commissioned by a Tokugawa branch clan to promote its affiliation with the shogunal family. There are a number of feasible explanations for why the set was commissioned.

We do not know the circumstances under which the set of *Nijō Imperial Excursion* handscrolls was ordered, but we can account for the way that it entered the Imperial Household Collection. In 1908 the future Taishō emperor received the set as a gift from Date Munemoto (1866–1917), a descendant of Date Masamune who had feted Hidetada and Iemitsu on their way to Kyoto to sponsor the Kan'ei imperial excursion.[18] One intriguing possibility, then, is that the set was given to Date Masamune to commemorate his role as host, or ordered by him, and passed down in his family.

With no signatures or seals on any of the five scrolls and no accompanying documentation, the artist's identity remains unclear. In style the painting corresponds to work produced in Kano workshops in the mid-seventeenth century. Supporting an attribution to a seventeenth-century Kano painter is a set of illustrated handscrolls by Kano Einō with the same theme and a similar style, entitled the *Kan'ei Imperial Visit* (*Kan'ei gyōkō emaki*; fig. 67). Dated by inscription to 1667, the set contains three



67 Kano Einō. Empress's carriage from *Kan'ei Imperial Visit*. 1667. Detail of scroll one from a set of handscrolls; ink and colors on paper. H. 32.5 cm. Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.

scrolls and is found in the Imperial Household Collection. Painted with rich polychrome, the set bears Einō's signature and seal.[19] Einō served as the head of the Kano workshop of painting in Kyoto and was held in high esteem there during the mid-seventeenth century. All of these points suggest that the five-scroll set of *Nijō Imperial Excursion* handscrolls was also painted by a Kyoto Kano artist of the mid-seventeenth century, perhaps on order for a warrior patron who wished to commemorate his participation and who felt a sense of investment in the union of the *dairi* and bakufu.

OTHER VISUAL RECORDS OF THE EMPEROR'S EXCURSION TO NIJŌ

As the visit to Nijō was a major component of the Kan'ei imperial excursion, it is not surprising that most illustrations of the five-day event focus on the monarch's procession. In addition to the two works mentioned above, several pairs of roughly contemporaneous folding screens picture the palanquins of Go-Mizunoo and his family, along with attendants in a long parade. Two pairs of screens of the *Imperial Excursion to Nijō* (*Nijō gyōkō-zu byōbu*) capture the royal entourage processing from the palace at right to the castle gate at left.[20] In addition, at least four known pairs of screens of *Scenes in and around Kyoto*, dated by visual evidence to the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, feature Go-Mizunoo's party making its way toward Nijō.[21] Carefully staged by the Tokugawa, the procession overtly communicated the shogun's purpose to sponsor, even to protect, the imperial family. Less overtly, the procession signaled the Tokugawa intention to dominate the aristocrats and the townspeople of Kyoto. Members of the viewing public could see that the emperor had departed from his venerated space in the palace. This departure marked him as subject to the wishes of the shogun.

Whatever double implications might have accompanied the visit, all who took part seem satisfied with its outcome. Sūden, mouthpiece for the Tokugawa, praises the event's outcomes in his *Kan'ei gyōkō-ki* (Record of the Imperial Excursion of the Kan'ei Era):

> It was most commendable that the [Edo] government should have studied ancient things, revived obsolete customs, and had the honor of winning an imperial visit. The Kitayama structure [site of an earlier imperial visit by Emperor Go-Komatsu] cannot be said to have been as good as it should have been, and the splendid Jurakutei [where Hideyoshi received Emperor Go-Yōzei] left much to be desired; but who in the future will not admire Nijō Castle, where the [1626] ceremony was held?[22]

An illustrated version of Sūden's text appeared in print a few months after the event, presumably for



68 Royal entourage arriving at Nijō Castle from *Imperial Visit* of 1626. 17th century. Detail of scroll one from a pair of printed handscrolls; ink on paper. 26 x 762 cm and 26 x 1230 cm. Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.

an audience of Tokugawa loyalists. That work, a pair of handscrolls entitled the *Imperial Visit of 1626* (*Kan'ei sannen gyōkō-zu*), opens with two imperial attendants arriving at the Nijō Mansion entrance, at the forefront of the royal entourage (fig. 68).[23] While this printed set of handscrolls is the earliest known visualization of the Kan'ei imperial visit, the two painted scroll sets described above—the handscrolls of the *Nijō Imperial Excursion* and the *Kan'ei Imperial Visit*—reveal enough differences to indicate the painters' original treatment of the theme. Moreover, the sumptuous polychrome detailing and extensive addition of gold paint and foil suggest that the two sets of painted scrolls were produced for a special purpose or specific occasion; for example, they may have been included in the dowries of women from ranking families.

The Tokugawa must have been pleased that the carefully laid plans for the Kan'ei imperial excursion had succeeded. Hereafter no grand public displays of Tokugawa indebtedness to the court would be required. This was the last invitation that an emperor would receive to visit a shogunal estate. In fact, Iemitsu's visit to Kyoto eight years later, in 1634, would be the last time that a Tokugawa shogun set foot in Kyoto until Shogun Iemochi's visit in 1863. The Tokugawa had labored to gratify Go-Mizunoo by showing him deference as a royal guest at Nijō and by bestowing generous gifts upon him and his immediate family. It seems that accordingly tensions between the bakufu and *dairi* decreased for a time. Within a year of the Nijō visit difficulties recurred, however, and then the emperor suddenly abdicated, as described in Chapter 8.



7

Emperor and Empress as Patrons of Kyoto Culture

In 1626 Emperor Go-Mizunoo and Empress Tōfukumon'in marked their sixth year as a married couple, the emperor being thirty-one years old and the empress twenty. Although still young Go-Mizunoo strove to sustain and build on the cultural legacy left behind by his father, Emperor Go-Yōzei, and thereby enhance the mystique and aura of grandeur associated with the royal institution. The Tokugawa continued their attempts to bolster the symbolic inheritance of the *dairi* while simultaneously constricting the actual reach of the imperial leaders, but Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in were able to operate within that coercive environment and emerge as energetic leaders of Kyoto culture.

In addition to their many ceremonial and religious activities, the emperor and empress hosted gatherings at the palace for cultural pastimes, including most notably poetry competitions, tea gatherings, and theatrical performances.[1] Their sponsorship of and participation in such events ensured that an impressive array of cultural and political luminaries of the capital was in attendance. Beyond their interest in performance arts, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in also commissioned paintings in various formats, along with finely made objects for devotional, ornamental, and workaday use, many of them pictorial in their decoration. Some of these were for themselves, others were originally intended or later decided to be presented as official gifts. Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in did not commission all the pieces in their collections, however; some were recent gifts and others had been passed down for generations at the palace. Their collections included centuries-old masterpieces as well as contemporary crafts. This chapter focuses on the relationships between these royal bastions of Kyoto culture and the artists they supported as patrons. Also treated here are artistic pursuits of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in, several of which were popular among wealthy warriors and townspeople. Go-Mizunoo's sustained interaction with various strata of Kyoto elite society was remarkable for an occupant of the Chrysanthemum Throne at the beginning of the early modern period.

Here I adopt several different perspectives to examine the wide-ranging social contacts that Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in formed in the course of their artistic sponsorship. The imperial couple's patronage of the painter and painting-shop proprietor Tawaraya Sōtatsu is relevant in this regard, as Sōtatsu was a commoner and is now associated with an imperial revivalist movement. Also relevant is Go-Mizunoo's commission of a copy of the illustrated handscroll, *Poetry Competition between Artisans*, which represents commoners. Poetry competitions had been a canonical theme in the literary arts of the court, tied to the religious practices of the nobility, but artists also created a variation on this theme in which tradespeople replaced the aris-

Attributed to Kano Tan'yū and Tonsured Prince Gyōjo. *Portrait of Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo*, detail of fig. 69.

tocratic poets, and Go-Mizunoo's adoption of tradespeople-poets imagery might be interpreted in social-political as well as artistic-thematic terms. Similarly, the monarch's participation in flower-arranging events and tea gatherings at court might indicate his intention to reach out to influential members of the townsman community in Kyoto.

This chapter thus studies artistic evidence of connections between the court and wealthy townspeople, or the "upper bourgeoisie" (*machishū*). Some cultural historians see alliances between the two as central to a revival in Kyoto culture at the outset of the early modern era.[2] The *machishū* had emerged in the fifteenth century and rose to prominence in Kyoto in the sixteenth century. The Momoyama-period *machishū*, comprising merchants, artisans, and moneylenders, is recognized by certain historians as a cohesive group that was well educated and affiliated with aristocrats in cultural settings.[3] These scholars propose that members of the court sponsored cultural events attended by individuals from the *machishū* and other backgrounds and that Go-Mizunoo hosted a salon at which members had comparatively free exchanges, unencumbered by the social hierarchies that would prevail in years to come.[4]

Groups of different status had co-mingled in the past, but from all evidence Go-Mizunoo's sponsorship of such events was unparalleled for a Japanese emperor in this era.[5] Although his cultural activities differed from those of his father, they were consistent with Go-Yōzei's attempts to revive the ancient belief in a uniquely imperial responsibility to secure divine blessings for the land, and thus the unique leadership role of the court. Furthermore, Go-Mizunoo's engagement with cultural pursuits can be interpreted as a gesture of self-determinacy—perhaps even a reaction against the controlling hand of the Tokugawa. Whether Go-Mizunoo also took advantage of artistic and cultural activities to form alliances with influential members of Kyoto's commoner community to resist authoritarian Tokugawa tendencies is unclear. Such actions would have threatened to erode the emperor's special relationship with the Tokugawa, his financial supporters, and thus it seems unlikely that they occurred.

As elaborated in this chapter, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in were major patrons of painting within Kyoto. They provided sponsorship across leading workshops, including painters from ateliers traditionally patronized by the court and painters from at least one newly created independent workshop. The former group included members of the Kano and Tosa studios, while the latter group included artists employed by the "Tawara shop," one of the numerous painting shops (*eya*) and illustrated-book shops (*ezōshiya*) found in the townsman community of Kyoto.[6] Artists at these shops tended to work more independently than the Kano and Tosa painters, whose studios were hierarchical in organization and often traditional in methods. Town shops hired painters of varying backgrounds, a number of whom had been displaced from elite ateliers during the tumultuous Age of the Country at War. Even the elite artists integrated a variety of methods and subjects into their work, bringing a new vitality to painting.

THE ROYAL COUPLE'S SPONSORSHIP OF KANO PAINTERS

The emperor and empress were familiar with a number of painters from the Kano workshop, appreciated by members of noble and warrior society for decades. From his youth, when he could have seen Takanobu paint expanses of sliding-door panels in the Keichō Palace, Go-Mizunoo had experienced many opportunities to view works by Kano artists. After Takanobu's death in 1618, his nephew Sadanobu managed the next major project of painting at court, decoration of the Empress's Palace for Tōfukumon'in.

In addition to producing large-scale paintings for palace buildings and temples affiliated with the court, some Kano painters created smaller works for the private delectation of emperor and empress. In 1616, for example, Kano Kōi (ca. 1569–1636) received a commission from Go-Mizunoo to paint

miniature pictures on shells for the shell-matching game (*kai awase*), a favorite pastime at court.[7] Kōi, a student of Mitsunobu, is known for his participation in major Kano projects for military lords, working in a conservative style favored by some warrior clients.[8] For the shell painting project, though, Go-Mizunoo recommended two models and presented specimens for Kōi to follow, one of which was a work by "a Tawaraya painter."[9] The painter Go-Mizunoo had in mind was probably Tawaraya Sōtatsu, whose work for the imperial family is discussed below.

Without a doubt the most prominent Kano artist engaged at the palace in the seventeenth century was Tan'yū, who painted panels for several rounds of *dairi* reconstruction. According to the diary of Hōrin Jōshō, Tan'yū even painted in Go-Mizunoo's presence in 1643.[10] Although emperor and painter were presumably in the same room, Go-Mizunoo was likely hidden behind a screen in accordance with court custom. On this occasion Tan'yū painted a triptych of hanging scrolls and a pair of two-panel folding screens, after which he received permission from Go-Mizunoo to examine a group of paintings and an album with samples of calligraphy in the imperial collection. Over ten years later Hōrin also recorded that Tan'yū hoped to ask Go-Mizunoo to comment on paintings by his son, Senchiyo (Tanshin Morimasa; 1653–1718).[11]

Hōrin apparently knew Tan'yū well, and in 1664 he enlisted the artist to paint a portrait of Go-Mizunoo, by this time an elderly retired monarch. A painting preserved in a private collection may be that very portrait (fig. 69).[12] Actually the image was painted in tandem by Tan'yū and tonsured Prince Gyōjo, Go-Mizunoo's son. The prince wrote an entry about the collaboration in his *Gyōjo hōshinnō nikki* (Diary of Gyōjo). Gyōjo relates that he visited Hōrin one day in 1664 to ask him to contact Tan'yū and request the painter to complete a portrait of Go-Mizunoo that Gyōjo had started.[13] The prince had already painted the face, and wanted Tan'yū to finish the image. In the following month Tan'yū and Hōrin were called to the retirement palace, where Gyōjo posed because Tan'yū was not allowed to look directly at the retired emperor. Tan'yū completed the portrait, adding robes and elements of the setting.[14] Later in the month Go-Mizunoo expressed his appreciation by sending Tan'yū a seal engraved "Peak of the brush, great layman of the faith" (*Hippō daikoji*).[15]

The painting attributed to Tan'yū and Gyōjo is thought to be one of only two portraits of Go-Mizunoo painted from life (fig. 69). The emperor is shown seated on a dais with a shaved head and wearing monastic garb. More than twenty other portraits of Go-Mizunoo survive—including one preserved at Unryūin in Kyoto painted by his daughter, tonsured Princess Shōzan Gen'yō—but all are likely based on one of the two original images (fig. 70).[16] The painting by Shōzan Gen'yō, which bears two artist's seals at the lower left, presents the emperor once again in a seated position with the tonsure and robes of a monk, albeit a different set of robes. Affixed to the silk in the upper part of the hanging scroll are two poem squares; Go-Mizunoo brushed these very same two verses on one of the two original portraits.[17]

Go-Mizunoo also owned paintings by less famous Kano-trained artists, including Kano Sanpō (act. early 17th century), who had studied under Sanraku but joined the ranks of Kyoto town painters.[18] Yet another likely Kano-trained artist who created paintings for Go-Mizunoo was Itō Chōhyōei (act. mid-17th century), whose name appears in entries in the dairy of Hōrin Jōshō, the *Kakumei-ki*.[19]

Like her husband, Tōfukumon'in owned a number of paintings by Kano artists, most of which are only known from records. Tōfukumon'in particularly admired the talents of Kano Nobumasa (1607–1658), a son-in-law of Takanobu who studied under Tan'yū; however, no works by Nobumasa from her collection have been located.[20] In a diary entry of 1664 Hōrin states that Tōfukumon'in commissioned Tan'yū to paint a hanging scroll portrait of the priest Musō Soseki (1275–1351), founder of Shōkokuji in Kyoto.[21] Go-Mizunoo's son, Gyōjo, mentions in a diary entry that Tōfukumon'in donated to Shōkokuji a triptych of paintings by Tan'yū, presumably including the portrait of Musō Soseki



69 Attributed to Kano Tan'yū and Tonsured Prince Gyōjo. *Portrait of Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo*. 1664. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 49.5 x 46.4 cm. Private collection.



70 Tonsured Princess Shōzan Gen'yō. Detail of *Portrait of Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo*. After 1680. Detail of a hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 100.6 x 55.8 cm. Unryūin, Kyoto.



71 Kano Sanraku. *Chinese Lions*. 1621–1622. Detail from a pair of wooden panels; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 45 x 198 cm. Yōgen'in, Kyoto.

mentioned by Hōrin.[22] The empress also donated a pair of screens by Kano Sanraku—widely credited with the *Peonies* and *Blossoming Red Plum* sliding-door panels for the Empress's Palace (figs. 50–52)—to the Jōdo temple of Seiganji in Kyoto. These screens featured images of the Thirty-Six Immortal Poets and calligraphy of their poems by Sonjun, the prince-abbot of Shōren'in.[23]

Sanraku is also credited with painting *Chinese Lions* (*Karajishi-zu*) for a temple with which Tōfukumon'in was associated, Yōgen'in in southeastern Kyoto (fig. 71).[24] These images—two fantastical creatures painted in polychrome and gold on each of three wood panels (*hameita*)—appear in the altar area of the main hall (*hondō*) of Yōgen'in. In 1594 Yododono, the aunt of Tōfukumon'in and consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had sponsored the construction of Yōgen'in in memory of her deceased father, the warlord Asai Nagamasa. Soon after its completion Yōgen'in was damaged in a fire, but supporters refurbished the temple with the financial help of Tōfukumon'in's mother, Eyo-no-kata.[25] Presumably Sanraku painted the Yōgen'in sliding-door panels at this time, perhaps with Tōfukumon'in, a mere teenager and only in Kyoto for a year or two, as his sponsor. Yododono had died in 1615, but Eyo-no-kata would likely have encouraged Tōfukumon'in to support Yōgen'in in memory of the young empress's grandparents. Though residing far to the east in Edo, from all indications in historical sources, this is the sort of thing that Eyo-no-kata, described as strong-willed, would have done.[26]

Yōgen'in thus came to serve as an Asai family temple (*bodaiji*) where memorial services were conducted for Tōfukumon'in's maternal grandfather, Asai Nagamasa, on the anniversary of his death, a traditional time to offer prayers for the repose of souls in Buddhist practice. Tōfukumon'in would later sponsor services at Yōgen'in for her parents as well. On the very day in the ninth month of 1626 that Eyo-no-kata died in Edo, Tōfukumon'in sent a messenger to Yōgen'in, asking the priests to burn incense and pray for her mother's soul.[27] Likewise, when her father died in 1632, Tōfukumon'in sponsored memorial services for him at Yōgen'in.[28]

Also painted by a Kano artist was a set of *kai awase* shells that Tōfukumon'in gave to the tea mas-

ter Sen no Sōtan (1578–1658). The set was painted by Kano Einō, the son of Kano Sansetsu and head of the Kyoto Kano atelier. Shells purportedly from this set were once preserved in the collections of Urasenke and Omotesenke in Kyoto, and several are found today in the Mitsui Bunko (fig. 72).[29] The set that Go-Mizunoo had commissioned from Kano Kōi in 1616, no longer extant, would doubtless have resembled Einō's set in its general characteristics.

Many of the shells depict elements of iconic episodes from the *Tale of Genji*, the *Tales of Ise*, and other romances, or the symbols used in the incense competition (*Genji kō*). The shell interiors were painted in jewel-like colors and with elegant stylization following the tradition of decorating *kai awase* in a miniaturizing *yamato-e* manner. The rich mineral colors and sprinkled and painted gold details reveal a commonality with such other works as the *Tale of Genji* screens in the Imperial Household Collection, attributed to Kano Eitoku (fig. 15). Einō's shells were stored in two shell containers (*kai oke*), decorated with refined *maki-e* designs featuring the Tokugawa triple-*aoi* crest, all part of the set that Tōfukumon'in gave Sōtan.

Records verify that *kai awase* was still a popular amusement at court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[30] This game features 180 painted scenes, with each scene rendered twice, on the inside surface of each of the two half clam shells that made up a complete shell. The full set of 360 half-shells has one half shell for each day of the year, according to the seventeenth-century calendar. The object of the game is to reunite the top and bottom shells from a pair. As the two matching half-shells fit together perfectly, they symbolize harmony between husband and wife, and wealthy families often included a set of the shell game in their daughters' dowries.[31]



72 Kano Einō. Two painted clam shells from a shell game. 17th century. Ink, colors, and gold on shells. Each shell D. 10.6 cm. Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.

ROYAL SCREEN PAINTINGS BY TOSA MITSUOKI

While commissioning work from several Kano painters, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in also ordered paintings from other groups of artists. When Takanobu died in 1618, he was not replaced with another Kano artist at court, as far as records indicate.[32] Several decades later, in 1654, the emperor conferred the honorific court title of *edokoro azukari*, or director of the bureau of painting, on Tosa Mitsuoki (1617–1691), a direct descendent of the main line of Tosa painters.[33] Mitsuoki's appointment to head the *dairi* atelier signaled a new direction in court painting, a return to a lineage of artists who had served as *edokoro azukari* intermittently from the mid-fourteenth century and regularly during the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century. Mitsunari (1646–1710), the son of Mitsuoki, inherited the title after his father's death, and Tosa successors led the court bureau through the remainder of the Edo period. As *edokoro azukari*, the leading Tosa artists worked in a range of painting formats and types; some of these were small-scale works such as albums and scrolls, while others were large-scale paintings.[34]

One large work by Mitsuoki is particularly important here, as it was clearly made for someone in the imperial family: the sumptuous pair of screens, *Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples with Poem Slips* (*Ōka fūju-zu byōbu*), now in the Art Institute



73 Tosa Mitsuoki. *Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples with Poem Slips*. 1654–1685. Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on silk. Each screen 142.5 x 293.2 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago (1977.156–157), Kate S. Buckingham Endowment.

of Chicago (fig. 73).[35] Mitsuoki captures cherry and maple trees in an open field flooded with sunlight, where poetry parties have just disbanded. Mists of sprinkled metallic dust and squares in gold and silver complement the delicately delineated blossoms and leaves, and scores of poetry slips inscribed with courtly verse are tied to the trees. In an entry dated to 1672 in the *Mujōhōin-dono gonikki*, Princess Tsuneko, Go-Mizunoo's daughter, tells of Tōfukumon'in's request for courtiers to write verses on poetry slips to affix to paintings of cherry and maple trees.[36] Presumably these poetry slips were assembled as a set or an album with paintings of cherry and maple trees; they may have even served as a model for the poetry slips painted on the screens in the Art Institute of Chicago. We know that Mitsuoki painted the Art Institute screens while serving as director of the imperial atelier because the work bears two signatures, both reading "painted by Mitsuoki, who holds the rank of Tosa Sakon Shōgen" (*Tosa sakon shōgen Mitsuoki hitsu*).[37] Mitsuoki signed paintings thus while serving as *edokoro azukari* from 1654 to 1681.

It is likely that Mitsuoki created the *Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples* screens on a direct request from Go-Mizunoo's son and the current emperor, Gosai, or from the retired emperor or empress. The triple-*aoi* crests of the Tokugawa family that decorate the metal fittings attached to the screens' edges also verify that the pair once belonged to a member of the shogunal clan, in this case, most likely Tōfukumon'in. These metal fittings might have been added, even if the screens were ordered by Gosai or Go-Mizunoo, to indicate that they were meant for Tōfukumon'in. Several records, including a 1698 document by the connoisseur of calligraphy Fujimoto Ryōin (1626–1704) that once accompanied the screens, provide information on the provenance of the work and indicate that Tōfukumon'in gave the screens to a member of the Chaya family of Kyoto.[38] It may well have been she who commissioned them.

Tōfukumon'in is known to have ordered other work from Mitsuoki about this time; before Go-Mizunoo's eightieth birthday in 1675, for example, she asked the artist to paint commemorative screens



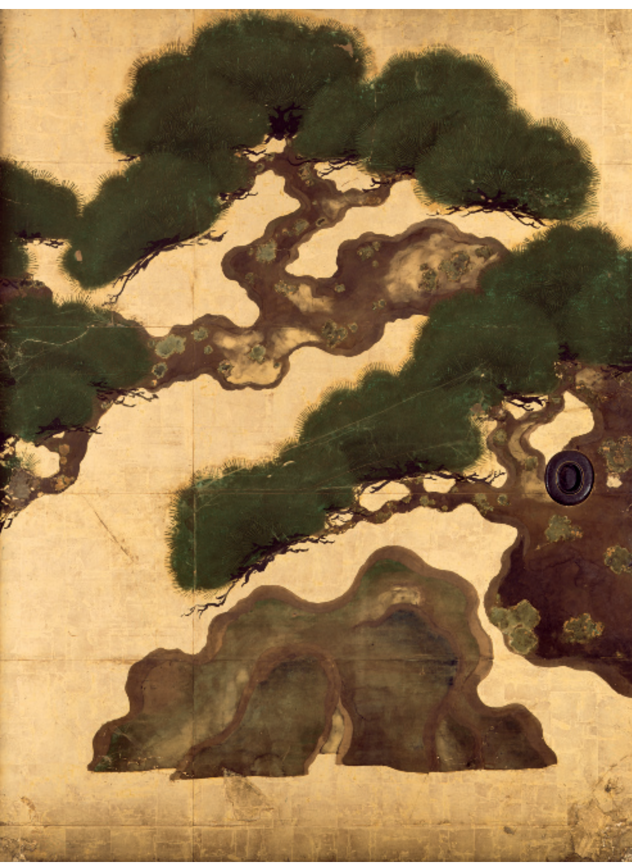
for the retired emperor.[39] She also contacted Mitsuoki in 1677 to authenticate a work in her possession, the illustrated *Tale of the Hidaka River* (*Hidakagawa sōshi*) attributed to Tosa Hirochika (?–1492), *edokoro azukari* from about 1439.[40] As the poems on the cherry and maple screens—transcribed from imperial anthologies, one group on the theme of cherry blossoms and the other on the theme of maple trees—invoke blessings for the imperial line, the work may well have been meant for display at a celebration in honor of an imperial family member.[41] But it is unclear whether the screens were ordered by Tōfukumon'in, or by Gosai or Go-Mizunoo for presentation to Tōfukumon'in.[42]

BEGINNINGS OF THE SUMIYOSHI ATELIER

Two other artists affiliated with Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in emerged from the Tosa workshop: Sumiyoshi Jokei and his son Gukei, discussed earlier in relation to the handscrolls, *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*, commissioned by Go-Mizunoo (figs. 3, 4, 34, 40). It was sometime about the middle of the century that Go-Mizunoo called on Jokei and Gukei to copy the handscrolls. At an unknown date Jokei also painted the face on the *oshi-e* figure of Ki no Tsurayuki by Tōfukumon'in, which is today preserved at Kōshōji in Uji.[43] The late Edo-period dictionary of painters, the *Koga bikō*, confirms that Jokei painted for Tōfukumon'in.[44] Jokei received commissions from the imperial family apparently through at least the 1650s, and Emperor Gosai awarded Jokei the honorary titles *hokkyō* and *hōgen* for his artistic accomplishments.[45] Each rank was presented as a proclamation from the emperor, written and signed by a minister.

Jokei and Gukei likely received recommendations for *dairi* projects from the leading priests Gyōnen (1602–1661) and Gyōjo of the Tendai *monzeki* Myōhōin in Kyoto; Gyōnen and Gyōjo were brother and son, respectively, of Go-Mizunoo. Both artists took the tonsure at Myōhōin.[46] Gukei painted a portrait of Gyōjo, today preserved at Myōhōin, which confirms the Sumiyoshi artists' connections to the temple.[47] In the early 1640s, at the time of the abdication of reigning Empress Meishō, Jokei and Gukei painted interiors of the newly constructed palace of Emperor Go-Kōmyō,





74 Attributed to Tawaraya Sōtatsu. *Pines*. 1621–1622. Four sliding-door panels from a set; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 184 x 141 cm. Yōgen'in, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

working alongside Tosa Mitsuoki, Kano Tan'yū, and other leading artists; none of these panels is known to survive, however. About 1662 Emperor Gosai appointed Jokei official painter of Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka, after which the two painters changed their family name to Sumiyoshi.[48]

Over a decade after the death of Jokei the fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi, appointed Gukei chief painter admitted into the inner quarters at Edo Castle, or *goyō eshi*.[49] With this appointment, announced in 1685, the Tokugawa introduced a significant change to bakufu sponsorship of art, allowing the Sumiyoshi workshop to supersede the Kano workshop, one of whose leaders had previously held the position of *goyō eshi*.[50] Moreover, bakufu leaders likely appointed Gukei as *goyō eshi* in part to proclaim an association with the court, still seen as prestigious in the last decades of the century. Tan'yū had died in 1674, but a number of Kano artists continued to work in Edo.[51]

THE TOWNSMAN PAINTER SŌTATSU'S ENTRÉE TO THE COURT

Another painter associated with the palace during Go-Mizunoo's reign was Tawaraya Sōtatsu, who is acclaimed for his innovative interpretations of courtly artistic modes. Albeit connoisseurs today praise Sōtatsu as a towering genius, he was apparently somewhat obscure in his own day. Nonetheless, records confirm that Sōtatsu worked for the





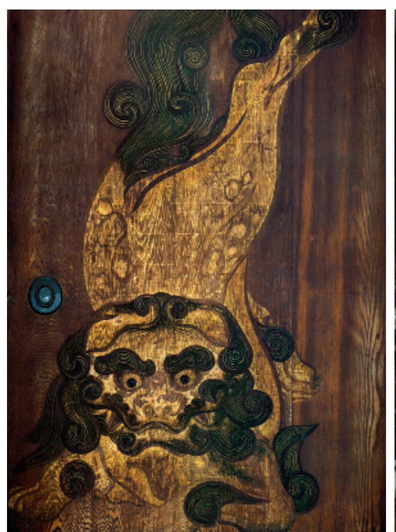
imperial family; in fact, records reveal that he interacted directly with the emperor on at least one commission, described below. While it seems natural that Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in would have turned to painters from elite ateliers such as the Kano and Tosa workshops, it is somewhat unexpected to find that they commissioned paintings from Sōtatsu, a shopkeeper.

Sōtatsu owned the Tawaraya ("Tawara's shop"), a popular Kyoto business that specialized in creating painted hanging scrolls, poem cards, shell sets, fans, dolls, and other small-scale *objets de vertu*. Shops of this sort engaged a range of so-called town painters (*machi-eshi*), who, by integrating methods and subjects from their diverse backgrounds, instilled new life into painting. Warrior and aristocratic patrons had been purchasing small decorated items from town painting shops throughout the sixteenth century, perhaps even earlier. Several late fifteenth-century aristocratic diarists refer to "low quality items" (*kahin*) and "town pieces" (*machimono*), which may have been ready-made pieces produced by town painters.[52]

Go-Mizunoo perhaps became aware of Sōtatsu from one of the courtiers who frequented the court gatherings sponsored by the emperor. Among the aristocrats who knew of Sōtatsu's work was Karasumaru Mitsuhiro—a talented calligrapher, poet, and scholar—who acquired works by Sōtatsu for members of the court, including the emperor.[53] In a diary entry of 1616 the nobleman Nakanoin Michimura mentions that Mitsuhiro had given Go-Mizunoo a Tawaraya painting, presumably referring to a work by Sōtatsu.[54] Michimura identifies the Tawaraya painting as having red maple leaves and a deer, autumnal imagery often employed in



75 Attributed to Tawaraya Sōtatsu. *White Elephant*. 1621–1622. One from a pair of cedar doors; ink, colors, and gold. 182 x 121 cm. Yōgen'in, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.




76 Attributed to Tawaraya Sōtatsu. *Chinese Lions*. 1621–1622. Detail of a pair of cedar doors; ink, colors, and gold. 182 x 121 cm. Yōgen'in, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.



77 Attributed to Tawaraya Sōtatsu. *Chinese Lion*. 1621–1622. One of a pair of cedar doors; ink, colors, and gold. 182 x 121 cm. Yōgen'in, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

court poetry that also appears in extant works by Sōtatsu and his studio.[55] Mitsuhiro also wrote a postscript for Sōtatsu's copy of the illustrated handscrolls of the *Tale of Saigyō* (*Saigyō monogatari emaki*; formerly Mori collection). Mitsuhiro comments in his postscript that he helped Sōtatsu borrow an original version of the Saigyō handscrolls from the palace to copy it.[56]

The first commission that Sōtatsu received directly from the *dairi* may have been the painting project at Yōgen'in.[57] Possibly Tōfukumon'in selected Sōtatsu to paint doors and panels in 1621 for the Main Hall of Yōgen'in due to his emerging reputation in Kyoto.[58] Sōtatsu's surviving work at Yōgen'in—counted among his important large-scale commissions—includes twelve panels from an original group of twenty (fig. 74), along with two pairs of cedar doors (*sugido*; figs. 75–77). The panels feature massive pines painted in polychrome on gold-leafed grounds, while the cedar doors have fantastical animals. One pair of cedar doors has paintings by Sōtatsu of two white elephants (*hakuzō*) on one side and two Chinese lions (*Karajishi*) on the other side; the other pair of doors has two Chinese lions by Sōtatsu on one side.[59] The Yōgen'in paintings are important as early indications that Sōtatsu was emerging as a recognized artist and perhaps already associated with the court.

The Yōgen'in panel and door paintings may be Sōtatsu's earliest extant large-scale paintings.[60] According to traditional accounts at Yōgen'in, the paintings are by a Tawaraya artist or artists and have been displayed in the temple's Main Hall since the early 1620s. Support for this claim is found in two printed books by Ōoku Shunboku (1680–1763): *Gahon tekagami* (Mirror of Painting; 1720) and *Gashi kaiyō* (Essentials of the History of Painting; about 1751).[61] These sources refer to paintings by a Tawaraya artist or artists working at Yōgen'in, but neither gives a full list of Sōtatsu's paintings at the temple. A later record, the 1799 *Miyako rinsen meishō zue* (Illustrated Guide to the Famous Gardens and Sites of Kyoto) by Akisato Ritō (late 18th–early 19th century) does mention panel paintings by Sōtatsu in the Yōgen'in Main Hall, along with his paintings of animals on cedar doors.[62] In addition, the mid-nineteenth-century *Koga bikō* quotes from the *Miyako rinsen meishō zue* and mentions paintings by Sōtatsu displayed in several rooms at Yōgen'in.[63]

Besides the paintings by Sōtatsu, Yōgen'in's Main Hall also holds the smaller panel paintings of Chinese lions by Kano Sanraku, mentioned above (fig. 71). Sanraku's participation in the painting of Yōgen'in interiors is more easily explained than Sōtatsu's. Sanraku was already one of the two leading Kano painters residing in Kyoto. Furthermore, Sanraku's father, Kimura Nagamitsu, had served as a warrior retainer of Asai Nagamasa, whose memorial temple Yōgen'in was, so it is no surprise that Sanraku was selected to paint here. It is not known, however, exactly how Sōtatsu came to assist in the temple's restoration. As the project was financed by the Tokugawa family, it is possible that the young empress, Tōfukumon'in, requested his participation.[64]

In the early 1620s Sōtatsu was still known simply as the owner of a small Kyoto painting shop. Three individuals in positions to bring Sōtatsu to the attention of the elite parties involved in restoring Yōgen'in, and to facilitate his employment on the project, were Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), Ogata Sōhaku (1570–1637), and Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, the courtier mentioned above. Kōetsu, who came from a family of respected sword connoisseurs, worked in collaboration with Sōtatsu on several projects that combined painting and calligraphy.[65]

Kōetsu was multi-talented, but he is best known for his calligraphy. His calligraphy teacher was Sonchō (1552–1597), a prince-abbot of Shōren'in and an expert on courtly script styles. Kōetsu's interests also included Nō drama, incense appreciation, and other sophisticated pursuits. He even acquired incense that had been blended by Go-Mizunoo and his mother—presumably for use in the tea room—as revealed in letters that the artist wrote to a Kyoto druggist named Fujii Harima-no-kami (dates unknown).[66] Both Sōtatsu and Kōetsu are said to have studied painting with Kaihō Yūshō, a favorite at Go-Yōzei's court. Yūshō may have played a role in helping Sōtatsu gain an early commission, perhaps his first significant project, the 1602 repair of the illustrated handscrolls of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hoke-kyō* or *Hokke-kyō*) of Itsukushima Shrine, also known as the *Heike nōkyō*.[67]

Another of the individuals in positions to bring Sōtatsu to the attention of those restoring Yōgen'in was Ogata Sōhaku, who owned a Kyoto textile shop named the Kariganeya. This shop supplied fabrics and costumes to the court and leading warrior clans.[68] Presumably, Sōhaku knew Sōtatsu, as he was Kōetsu's nephew.[69] Given these connections, it is certainly possible that Sōhaku introduced Sōtatsu to leaders of the court.

About eight or nine years after the Yōgen'in panels and doors were painted, Go-Mizunoo awarded a significant commission to Sōtatsu, and for this, we have a contemporaneous supporting document. In a letter dated to 1630, a written exchange between Go-Mizunoo and his younger brother Ichijō Kanetō reveals that Go-Mizunoo asked Sōtatsu to paint three pairs of folding screens, including a pair with mountain plum trees. Kanetō mentions in this letter that Sōtatsu had the preparatory underdrawings on the screens ready to be inspected.[70] One of these, the screen(s) of *Mountain Plum* (*Yōbai-zu byōbu*), already had the gold (or silver) leaf applied to the ground. With a court lady

transcribing his response, Go-Mizunoo replied that the screens had been carried into the court library and that he would convey his thoughts about the underdrawings to Sōtatsu directly.

The letter exchanged between Go-Mizunoo and Kanetō is a rare extant record verifying that the emperor was personally involved in ordering paintings and assessing work in progress. One of the screens mentioned in the letter may survive: a single six-panel folding screen of *Mountain Plum*, now in a private collection (fig. 78). Though lacking seals and a signature, the screen was published in a scholarly journal and presented to the public in a recent exhibition, where it was tentatively attributed to Sōtatsu, or more specifically, identified as possibly being one screen from the pair mentioned in the written exchange between Go-Mizunoo and his brother.[71]

Most of the large-scale works by Sōtatsu that survive are thought to date after 1630. If correctly attributed to Sōtatsu, the screen of *Mountain Plum* would be a rare example of the painter's large-scale work from slightly earlier. Nonetheless, it will likely never be possible to assign the screen definitively to the painter, even though certain features of the brushwork and composition bear a resemblance to those in other paintings by Sōtatsu. At any rate, the written correspondence between Go-Mizunoo and Kanetō indicates that *dairi* members had come to admire Sōtatsu's large-scale paintings by 1630.

At some point—perhaps over a decade earlier—Go-Mizunoo had granted Sōtatsu the honorific title of *hokkyō*, likely as appreciation for work such as the Yōgen'in panels.[72] After being named *hokkyō*, Sōtatsu painted the group of large-scale pieces today acclaimed as his masterpieces. Documents confirm, for example, that he painted the famous paired screens, *Scenes from the Sekiya and Miotsukushi Chapters of the Tale of Genji* (*Sekiya Miotsukushi-zu byōbu*), in 1631 for tonsured nobleman Kakujō (1607–1661) of Sanbōin, a subtemple of Daigoji in Kyoto.[73]

Sōtatsu also finished works for other aristocratic clients. He is credited with painting cedar doors for the Ekan Sansō, a residence of Go-Mizunoo's brother Kanetō. Paintings for the Ekan Sansō are finished in a style similar to that of the Yōgen'in doors.[74] In addition, Sōtatsu painted cedar doors at the Iwakura Palace in the northeastern hills outside Kyoto, later the residence of Princess Akiko, daughter of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in. After Akiko's death, these were moved to Kōunji, the mortuary temple of Akiko in Kyoto, apparently at Tōfukumon'in's request.[75]

Sōtatsu also created artistic works for merchant and warrior clients, as did his aforementioned associate Hon'ami Kōetsu, an influential member of the Kyoto townspeople's community. In 1615 Tokugawa Ieyasu granted Kōetsu land at Takagamine in the hills northwest of Kyoto, where Kōetsu founded a colony that came to include his extended family and the families of associates, totaling over fifty households.[76] A number of prominent figures visited Takagamine in the 1620s and 1630s, including Tōfukumon'in, who arrived in the company of Konoe Nobuhiro, one of Go-Mizunoo's younger brothers. On this remarkable visit of 1638 Tōfukumon'in and Nobuhiro first attended a service at Daitokuji and then went to Takagamine for a stroll.[77] Kōetsu had died the previous year, so other Takagamine notables would have entertained the visitors, perhaps at Kōetsu's hermitage, the Taikyo-an (Hut of Great Emptiness). This is one of many indications that leaders of the imperial family, while dedicated to restoring court culture, also developed contacts with townspeople. Indeed, their exchanges with townspeople facilitated the courtly revival.

Among the Takagamine residents were leading Kyoto artisans, such as the clothier Ogata Sōhaku, the brush maker Fudeya Myōki (dates unknown), the papermaker Kamishi Sōji (dates unknown), and the lacquerer Tsuchida Sōtaku (dates unknown), as well as members of the Gotō and Suminokura merchant families. Many Takagamine residents were followers of the Hokke (Nichiren or Lotus) sect of Buddhism, which prescribed loyalty to the imperial household. Hokke is often associated with an intransigent, militant version of Buddhism, in part because its followers had taken up arms in the previous century to oppose military lords, as had fol-



78 Attributed to Tawaraya Sōtatsu. *Mountain Plum.* 17th century. Six-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 150.7 x 344.4 cm. Private collection.



lowers of certain other Buddhist sects. By the early Edo period, however, Hokke followers had largely been pacified, and what was most distinctive about the group during Kōetsu's generation was their ongoing investment in the commercial and cultural development of the city, along with their egalitarian doctrines. Hokke teaching holds that salvation is available to all, and the central Hokke scripture, the *Lotus Sutra*, was understood to guarantee followers equal access to paradise regardless of social standing or gender.

Some scholars hypothesize that the Tokugawa granted Kōetsu land at Takagamine to encourage him and his associates to move out of Kyoto and thus diminish Hokke influence in the ancient capital.[78] The Tokugawa may have also intended the gift of Takagamine land as a conciliatory gesture, perhaps to induce Kōetsu to assist in quelling dissatisfaction among Kyoto merchants and in smoothing out relations between the shogunate and the court.[79] Coming from a family that had served warriors as sword experts and thus enjoyed close ties with many leading lords, especially the Maeda of Kaga Province (present-day Toyama and Ishikawa Prefectures), Kōetsu was at home in military culture as well as in other elite communities.

Art historians often identify Sōtatsu and Kōetsu as central figures in a seventeenth-century renaissance of classical art that brought new energy to traditional styles and approaches.[80] The artists' interest in courtly precedents clearly related to aristocratic attempts to restore imperial prestige, especially in the face of warrior encroachments. Sōtatsu and Kōetsu may have even led a quiet resistance among Kyoto's townspeople against the imposition of Tokugawa authority, as some scholars suggest, although a lack of documentation makes it difficult to confirm.[81] Yet Ieyasu's grant of Takagamine land to Kōetsu may have been meant—and received—as a political *quid pro quo* to an artist who exerted considerable influence over both Kyoto's commoner communities and aristocratic circles. The Tokugawa had certainly learned the utility of co-option through largesse.

SCROLL OF AN IMAGINARY POETRY CONTEST OF ARTISANS

With the dawn of the seventeenth century, townspeople from several prominent Kyoto families—including the Chaya, Suminokura, Ogata, and others discussed below—naturally hoped to maintain the financial success and social independence they had gained during the decades when military lords were occupied in internecine struggle, but by mid-century, a number of formerly wealthy commoners of Kyoto could only reminisce about better times. The rights and opportunities of Kyoto townspeople were being eroded by bakufu regulations meant to freeze social mobility and regulate trade, which led to the collapse of several mercantile fortunes.[82] There were thus Kyoto townspeople who had reason to resent Tokugawa authority and who harbored a desire to affiliate with alternative centers of status, notably the *dairi*.

The court's perspective on these developments is not overtly articulated in textual sources, but at some point Go-Mizunoo commissioned an illustrated handscroll that depicts commoners and considers social relations from an imperial perspective: *Poetry Competition between Artisans* (*Shokunin uta-awase emaki*; fig. 79). In 1638 Go-Mizunoo presented this work to the Maeda warrior clan, and so it is referred to hereafter as the Maeda copy.[83] It is likely a close reproduction of one scroll from a set that illustrated a poetry competition between artisans in seventy-one pairs, once in the Sumiyoshi family collection. Although the exact date and painter of the Maeda copy are uncertain, scholars suggest it was created by a courtier of the early seventeenth century.[84] The scroll comprises twenty-three poems with calligraphy by the nobleman Takakura Nagayoshi (1590–1664).[85] The Maeda copy is stored in a box decorated with gold and silver *maki-e* ascribed to Igarashi Dōho (d. 1678) who worked for the Maeda clan. An inscription on the box lid identifies the scroll as a gift from Go-Mizunoo.[86] Other sources specify Maeda Toshitsune (1594–1658) as the recipient.[87]

It might seem that court leaders, born and raised



79 *Poetry Competition between Artisans*. Ca. 1630–1638. Detail of a handscroll; ink and light colors on paper. H. 33.1 cm. Maeda Ikutokukai Foundation, Tokyo.

in the confines of the *dairi*, would care little about commoners at work, but imperial sponsorship of images of artisan-poets suggests otherwise. In fact, production of the artisan-poet scrolls had been associated with the court for centuries; the theme dates from as early as the thirteenth century, and related to long-standing literary and religious practice. The tradition is based on illustrations of poetry competitions (*uta-awase*), which had been popular amongst the nobility since the Heian period and were scheduled at aristocratic gatherings as both competition and diversion. In court poetry matches, competitors were assigned to a left or a right team and asked to compose on a chosen topic, such as seasonal imagery or romantic longing or loss. An early example of this genre is the Heian-period *Selected Poems of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets* (*Sanjūrokuninsen*), compiled by the nobleman Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041).

Illustrated handscrolls on the theme of *Poetry Competition between Artisans*, which substituted tradespeople for court poets, were no doubt partly intended to amuse aristocratic audiences.[88] Courtiers had been composing jocular verses for centuries, and such verses are included in the earliest imperial anthologies of poetry, such as the tenth-century *Kokinshū*. Yet, even though courtiers composed poems in the voice of commoners partly as comic entertainment, they were also motivated by religious concerns that they shared with com-

moners. According to religious practice in Japan, courtiers offered poems as prayers for commoners, who were supposedly insufficiently learned to pray on their own behalf, and aristocrats were said to gain spiritual merit as a result.[89] For centuries, the religious dimensions of court poetry had also overlapped with ideological concerns, especially justification of imperial rule as explained in previous chapters.[90]

In the past, court artists had often contributed illustrations to the genre of artisan-poet competitions. Five early illustrated handscrolls on the theme are known, and although it is not clear for whom each of these was made, some scholars conclude that the context of their production had to do with religious activity and that the intended audiences were aristocratic.[91] Several early scrolls were purportedly based on gatherings held at temples and shrines and judged by priests. Documentary sources relate that at least a few such scrolls were either found at the imperial palace or created by courtiers.

Perhaps the earliest known version is the early thirteenth-century *Poetry Competition between Artisans at the Tōhokuin* (*Tōhokuin shokunin uta-awase emaki*).[92] According to the scroll's text, participants gathered at the estate of a Fujiwara aristocrat for ninety-three nights of composition and recitation of verse. An inscription on the scroll relates that it was kept at the palace in the fourteenth century and that an emperor had painted it, although these claims are as yet unsubstantiated.[93] The preface to another anonymous early work—the thirteenth-century *Poetry Competition between Artisans at the Tsurugaoka Shrine on the Occasion of the Hōjō Ceremony* (*Tsurugaoka hōjōe shokunin uta-awase emaki*)—tells of individuals gathering to recite their poems as part of a Buddhist ceremony.[94] Muromachi-period artists produced handscrolls of poetry competitions between tradespeople in thirty-two pairs and in seventy-one pairs.[95] Apparently each of these was again a commission related to religious practices and associated with the court.

Go-Mizunoo's interest in the theme also parallels larger developments of the day, when audiences for images of artisans increased and when artists outside the court apparently began to paint artisan-poet competitions, along with images of various artisans (*shokunin zukushi-zu*).[96] *Shokunin zukushi-zu* differ from *Shokunin uta-awase-e* in that they have no literary content and they capture laborers at work, usually with background details that picture a larger setting.[97] Go-Mizunoo not only ordered a copy of the *Poetry Competition between Artisans in Seventy-one Pairs*, he also commissioned *Images of Various Artisans* from the famous calligrapher and painter Shōkadō Shōjō.[98]

Although poetry competitions were an ancient court tradition, Go-Mizunoo was perhaps motivated to order paintings on this theme by an interest in developments outside the palace. In sponsoring images of tradespeople and merchants, Go-Mizunoo was registering his awareness of the lives of workers, members of the populace he was charged with protecting in his spiritual capacity. Additionally, social and economic concerns of aristocrats had long prompted interest in the working contingent; included in these concerns were artistocrats' commercial and financial investments in commoner enterprises. Over the centuries noble families had protected craft and trade guilds (*za*) that produced and merchandized a variety of goods, indicating that courtiers relied on these economic investments. The seventeenth-century economy—which was changing dramatically as new transportation and communication infrastructures were being built and new land was prepared for cultivation—depended on the prosperity of commoner enterprises. Furthermore, Tokugawa bureaucratic centralization stimulated development of commercial networks and long-distance exchange of goods. All of the above spurred emergence of a market economy on a national scale.[99]

Go-Mizunoo's interest in images of tradespeople may also relate to (or even be a calculated response to) Tokugawa social constraints. Intent on enforcing a hierarchical organization of the population, the Tokugawa imposed a rigid social stratification, justifying it as necessary for individuals to fulfill their respective functions so that all might

prosper.[100] The emperor, although not included in the four-class system of warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants, was, as we have seen, equally the object of Tokugawa constrictions. Here is the contemporary author Kaibara Gakken (1625–1702), explaining the strata in terms of labor, "[there is] for instance, a bow craftsman crafting bow and arrow, … an artist painting pictures, … (and) an emperor as a delegate of Heaven blessing people, administering justice, and offering comfort to the people …".[101] Such comments by commoner authors were perhaps motivated by a desire to garner prestige by associating their work with the functions of monarchs, but something else was clearly involved when a nobleman characterized the professional roles of aristocrats in a manner similar to the characterization of commoner occupations.[102] A shared perception of the value of distinguishing social roles seems to have existed for some time, suggesting that aristocrats had been recognizing their own interest in defining their contributions to society.

Given all this, we sense that Go-Mizunoo ordered a version of the artisan-poet scrolls for a range of reasons, some having motivated earlier aristocrats to commission paintings of this theme. But Go-Mizunoo was his own person in his own particular time and circumstances. Whether he commissioned illustrations of artisan-poets as a gesture of court alignment with the artisans and merchants who constituted the growing urban commoner class is unclear. Yet certain other of Go-Mizunoo's actions indicate his willingness to ignore rules both ancient and recent that isolated court leaders from members of the populace. These decisions counted, among others, organizing cultural gatherings for flower arranging and tea to which he sometimes invited leading cultural luminaries belonging to the commoner community, including most notably Ikenobō Senkō and Sen no Sōtan who are discussed below.

THE ART OF FLORAL ARRANGEMENT

In conjunction with their many ritual and religious activities, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in kept pace with the latest cultural developments in elite circles of the ancient capital, including a version of floral arrangement known as standing flowers (*rikka*) and the aesthetic practice of drinking tea (*chanoyu*), which appealed to a range of individuals including warriors and townspeople. *Rikka* so captivated Go-Mizunoo that in 1629, his last year on the throne, he sponsored more than thirty exhibitions of *rikka* at the palace.[103] Flower arranging had been a significant artistic form for centuries, but Ikenobō Senkō (Senkō I; 1536–1621) had transformed an existing approach to arranging flowers, branches, and leaves into a form of sculpture and thus created *rikka*. Senkō I was a monk of Rokkakudō Chōhōji in Kyoto and the fourteenth-generation head of the Ikenobō line of specialists in flower arranging. Ikenobō Senkō II (1576–1658), whose arrangements were even more sculptural than those of his predecessor, began training Go-Mizunoo in the art in 1624. Over the next five years, the emperor sponsored frequent *rikka* competitions at the palace, and at times he invited Senkō II to serve as a judge even though the Ikenobō family was of commoner standing.[104] After abdicating, Go-Mizunoo continued to sponsor *rikka* events at his retirement palace.[105]

The court's interest in *rikka* is documented in a variety of visual and textual sources, including the illustrated handscrolls, *Rikka by Ikenobō Senkō II* (*Ikenobō Senkō rikka zukan*), anonymous versions of which survive at the Yōmei Bunko and Manshuin in Kyoto, as well as the New York Public Library. These handscrolls picture statuesque and asymmetric arrangements, each with a grouping of seven branches, serving as a symbolic reference to the Buddhist cosmic notion of Shumisen (S: Sumeru), with seven mountain walls.[106] The version in the Yōmei Bunko, dated to 1672, features arrangements that were created by Senkō II between 1626 and 1635 and that were displayed in such settings as the



80 *Rikka by Ikenobō Senko II.* Ca. 1672. Detail of a handscroll; ink and colors on paper. 38.1 x 2622.5 cm. Yōmei Bunko, Kyoto.

Shishinden of the palace and aristocratic residences (fig. 80).[107] Go-Mizunoo is known to have engaged painters to record Senkō II's arrangements, but it is not certain if the work in the Yōmei Bunko was produced under such circumstances.[108]

An entry in the *Kaiki* (Records of Gatherings)—which mainly concerns the renowned tea master and connoisseur, Konoe Iehiro (Yorakuin; 1667–1736)—refers to an arrangement of flowers by Senkō II. Iehiro recounts an instance in which his great-grandfather Nobuhiro invited the tea master Kanamori Sōwa (Shigechika; 1584–1656) to tea.[109] Senkō had prepared flowers for Nobuhiro's *tokonoma* and then departed. Upon entering the tea room, Sōwa asked when Senkō had visited. Nobuhiro was amazed that Sōwa could so quickly identify the arrangement by Senkō II. We can conclude from this anecdote, and others, that circles of *rikka* and *chanoyu* practitioners overlapped and included accomplished individuals from different social groups.

TEA GATHERINGS AND AESTHETIC PRIORITIES

Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in both developed an interest in *chanoyu* and were particularly devoted to two tea masters: Sen no Sōtan, who was the grandson of Rikyū and also a commoner, and Kanamori Sōwa, who was born into a warrior clan and is credited with founding a unique version of aristocratic tea. Several centuries before this, tea drinking had been integrated into parties at aristocratic villas. Prince Sadafusa (1372–1456), for example, had held "tea gatherings by turns" (*junji chakai*) that featured luxurious furnishings, fine foods, and sophisticated pursuits, all of which suggest an environment dedicated to elegant festivity.[110] A formalized version of tea practice later emerged at Zen temples, which then developed into an aestheticized secular ritual known as *chanoyu* shared by leading warlords, monks, and other prominent figures. In the sixteenth century prosperous merchants gained a foothold in the tea world, and *chanoyu* became a prime site for interaction between individuals of wealth and influence from various backgrounds. The first known instance in which formal *chanoyu* was prepared for an emperor within the palace was in 1585, when Sen no Rikyū guided warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi in making tea for Emperor Ōgimachi, as described in Chapter 1.[111] The emperor had recently appointed Hideyoshi to the high court rank of imperial chancellor and had given Rikyū the honorary Buddhist lay title of "*koji*."[112] Soon *chanoyu* was integrated into *dairi* events, and tea masters such as Sōtan and Sōwa visited the palace to instruct members of the imperial family on tea.[113]

Sōtan and Sōwa are usually described as differing in temperament and taste. Sōtan, who had succeeded to headship of the Sen line in 1614, was considered an untrammeled hermit and came to be known as "beggar Sōtan" (*wabi* Sōtan).[114] As tea



81 Attributed to Emperor Go-Mizuno. Water jar. 17th century. Shugakuin ware, stoneware with underglaze iron decoration. 24.8 x 13.8 cm. Hōjōji, Kyoto.

wares, he preferred objects of daily use over "famous objects" (*meibutsu*). Sōwa was the son of Kanamori Yoshishige (1558–1615), lord of Takayama Castle in Hida Province (present-day Gifu Prefecture) and a retainer of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Sōwa left the warrior life and became a tea aesthete, known for his refined taste. Still, both Sōtan and Sōwa had numerous acquaintances in warrior and aristocratic circles, as well as in merchant and religious communities of Kyoto, and they participated in comparatively open social exchanges that extended even to the court.

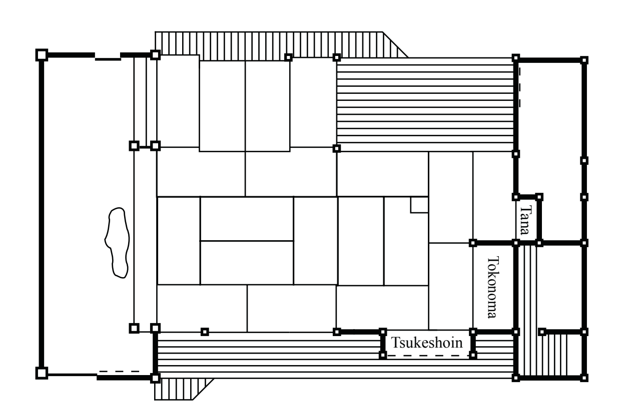
Courtly tea events hosted by Sōtan and Sōwa introduced aspects of the townspeople's culture to members of the court, and vice versa. Some gatherings for *chanoyu* organized by Sōtan, Sōwa, and certain other leading tea masters brought together adepts from different social backgrounds with an appreciation for items received from aristocrats. In this regard an entry by the Nara lacquer merchant Matsuya Hisashige (1566–1652) in his *Matsuya kaiki* (Record of Tea Gatherings of Matsuya) describes a tea gathering he attended in 1649 at the residence of Itakura Shigemune, the Tokugawa magistrate of Kyoto, at which flower arrangements sent by Go-Mizunoo from his retirement villa were displayed.[115] The occasion thus brought together a cultured townsman and the bakufu representative, who enjoyed an example of the emperor's floral arranging skill.

Entries in the *Kakumei-ki* kept by nobleman Hōrin Jōshō indicate that aristocratic taste in tea wares was changing just prior to mid-century, when Sōtan and Sōwa participated in shaping tea culture at court.[116] Many of the wares used by Sōtan and Sōwa were colorfully decorated, others were less ornamented and more rustic. Similarly, Go-Mizunoo appreciated a range of tea wares. Although he gained a reputation for ostentation in hosting tea gatherings, he collected some tea wares that were plain or rough in finish as well as others lavishly decorated. Acquiring contemporary tea wares was one of many ways in which Go-Mizunoo engaged, although indirectly, with commoner craftspeople working in the old capital. Intermediaries, such as tonsured members of the aristocracy, apparently brought these wares to the *dairi* for Go-Mizunoo's inspection. At his tea gatherings Go-Mizunoo introduced a variety of objects, some antique and some by contemporary Kyoto artisans. Numerous surviving examples of one comparatively rustic ceramic type, a Kyoto ware known as Shugakuin pottery, are linked to Go-Mizunoo; indeed, it is thought that he contributed to the establishment of the kiln at Shugakuin, his retirement villa.[117] An undated fresh water container for tea service (*mizusashi*), which is preserved at Hōjōji in Kyoto, is a rare surviving example of Shugakuin pottery said to have been designed by Go-Mizunoo (fig. 81).[118] The water jar is covered with a Shino glaze and carries a seemingly abstract decoration in iron underglaze. Based on an inscription on the box in which this jar is stored, scholars conclude that Go-Mizunoo presented this and four other pieces to the abbot of Hōjōji in 1670.[119]

Go-Mizunoo is also credited with designing sev-

82 Attributed to Emperor Go-Mizunoo. Ochaya tea room. 17th century. Fushimi Inari Shrine, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

eral tea rooms (*chashitsu*) that still stand, offering further evidence of his passion for tea. The Ochaya, a tea room today located at Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto, is one of these (figs. 82–83). According to traditional accounts at the shrine, Go-Mizunoo ordered that the Ochaya be moved from its original location at his retirement palace of Sentō Gosho to Fushimi Inari about 1640.[120] The Ochaya follows the *sukiya* manner, which is a version of the comparatively free-form residential style known as "study" (*shoin*) construction. Several other tea rooms built for Go-Mizunoo survive, although it is unclear whether these were altered over the years.[121]



83 Floor plan of the Ochaya tea room.

Tōfukumon'in's participation in *chanoyu* is also noteworthy; she did not necessarily attend the same gatherings as the male leaders of the court, but she did practice the arts of tea. Sōtan visited Tōfukumon'in at the palace to give her lessons in tea, and she reciprocated by visiting him at his residence, now known as the Konnichian estate of Urasenke in Kyoto. It is possible that the Kan'untei ("Cold Cloud Chamber"), an eight-mat room within the Konnichian estate, was designed by Sōtan for Tōfukumon'in's visits. There is little to document this association, however, as is common with many of the tea connections of the imperial family. The room features a distinctive three-level ceiling, and according to belief maintained at Urasenke, Tōfukumon'in sat under the lowest ceiling, which was considered the most formal area. The Kan'untei also features a distinctive comb-shaped transom (*ranma*) that Sōtan supposedly modeled on a comb he had received from Tōfukumon'in.[122]

Verifying an association between Sōtan and Tōfukumon'in are records of their repeated exchanges of gifts into mid-century.[123] Sōtan gave Tōfukumon'in several items that he had himself made or designed, including a tubular flower container (*hanaire*), a tea scoop (*chashaku*), and a red-trimmed lacquered stand for tea utensils (*seishitsu tsumagure daisu*).[124] In addition, he supposedly fashioned from cloth a special tea napkin (*chakin*) that she used to wipe the rim of her tea bowl; the napkin was red so that her lipstick stains would not be noticeable.

In return, Tōfukumon'in gave Sōtan a *maki-e* box in the shape of a mirror, a rabbit-ear water jar for *chanoyu*, and the aforementioned shells painted by Kano Einō for the shell-matching game (fig. 72).[125] Sōtan is said to have liked the container in which these shells were kept so much that he ordered copies of it. Tōfukumon'in also presented Sōtan with several *oshi-e* that she had made.[126] The pieces represented the poetess Ono no Komachi (mid-9th century) and the poet Ariwara no Narihira (825–880).[127] Furthermore Sōtan wrote an inscription on a hanging scroll with cloth-covered images of peach blossoms made by Tōfukumon'in, which was presented to Konoe Nobuhiro, Go-Mizunoo's brother.[128]

In addition to the tea wares that Tōfukumon'in received from Sōtan, she collected a variety of other *chanoyu* utensils; some were rare antiquities, others were newly made.[129] Perhaps best known are the two matching tea bowls with overglaze enamel decoration attributed to Nonomura Ninsei (act. mid-17th century), the preeminent ceramic designer in Kyoto; these are now in the MOA Museum of Art (fig. 84).[130] Kanamori Sōwa had introduced Ninsei's wares at the court.[131] With their unique patterns and technical refinement, these bowls—today designated as Important Cultural Properties—display a refined aesthetic. The exterior of each bowl bears two bands of decoration, abstracted lotus panels on the lower band, and diamonds set against a white ground on the upper band, the diamonds being gold on the smaller bowl and silver on the larger bowl. Stylistically, the bowls can be dated to the 1660s or 1670s, perhaps created by a successor of Ninsei at the Omuro kiln, which was located in northwestern Kyoto in the neighborhood of Ninnaji.[132] This suggests that connections between the Omuro kiln and the court continued after Sōwa's death and that a taste for elegantly decorated wares survived in Kyoto tea circles beyond mid-century.

Another tea aesthete who participated in courtly tea events was Kobori Enshū. In at least one tea ceremony, he heated the water in a golden tea kettle for Go-Mizunoo's delectation.[133] As discussed in Chapter 5, Enshū was a warlord who also served the Tokugawa as an administrator and had overseen the construction of Tōfukumon'in's palace around 1620, and later the imperial couple's adjoining retirement palaces. But he was also a central figure in "warrior tea" (*daimyō cha*) during the first half of the seventeenth century. He combined the rustic spirit of *wabi* tea (*wabi cha*) and the earlier appreciation for Chinese wares (*karamono*) with elements derived from early court culture, such as incorporation of hanging scrolls with *waka* by the thirteenth-century poet Fujiwara no Teika and other aristocrats. An encompassing term now used for this aesthetic is "*kirei*," referring to a refined beauty in



84 Attributed to Nonomura Ninsei. Pair of tea bowls. Mid- to late 17th century. Stoneware with overglaze enamel decoration. Larger bowl: 9.2 x 4.9 cm; smaller bowl: 8.1 x 4.9 cm. MOA Museum of Art, Atami. Important Cultural Property.

which rich ornamentation is tempered by subtle delicacy.[134] Enshū is said to have developed his aesthetic preference in part while assisting Hachijōnomiya Toshihito with the design of the prince's villa-and-garden complex at Katsura.[135] Thus, notwithstanding that Enshū was retained by the Tokugawa leaders—not only as a tea master, but also in a number of other capacities—his taste was also clearly influenced by contact with aristocrats, including members of the imperial family.

PALACE INTERACTION WITH KYOTO TOWNSPEOPLE

Generally speaking, opportunities to interact with palace notables were restricted to a select group of individuals and forbidden to those of lower status except by official permission.[136] Despite that longstanding custom, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in built bridges to unprecedented levels of the Kyoto community and to an unprecedented extent. As described above, the commoners with whom Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in associated were gifted artists, admired artisans, purveyors of high quality wares, and educated and acclaimed members of the townspeople's community. Most notably, Ikenobō Senkō judged flower arrangements for Go-Mizunoo's gatherings at the palace and Sen no Sōtan performed tea for Tōfukumon'in and invited her to visit him at his Konnichian estate. Senkō and Sōtan likely were introduced to the imperial couple as a result of their numerous contacts with elite warrior and aristocratic figures. Scholars have also linked members of the Suminokura and Hon'ami commoner families with court cultural circles.[137] In addition, the imperial couple knew painters from the commoner community.

Like Go-Mizunoo, Tōfukumon'in was apparently aware of—but maybe not in personal contact

with—painters from the Kano, Tosa, Sumiyoshi, and Tawaraya workshops. She provided significant support to artisans and shop owners of the ancient capital; she ordered extensively from Kyoto businesses run by the Kawabata, the Chaya, and the Ogata. The Kawabata, who owned a confection shop supplying sweets to the *dairi*, proudly claimed Tōfukumon'in as a client, and to this day their art collection includes several items that once belonged to the empress, including a tea caddy (*chaire*) in *nashiji* lacquer ornamented with the Tokugawa crest on its lid and an accompanying gold brocade pouch (fig. 85).[138]

Tōfukumon'in also maintained ties with the Chaya family, whose founder, Chaya Shirōjirō I (Kiyonobu; 1542? –1596), had established contacts with both the Kyoto court and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Shirōjirō II (Kiyotada; 1582–1603) fought on Ieyasu's side in the Battle of Sekigahara, and Shirōjirō III (1583–1622) oversaw the regulated foreign silk trade at Nagasaki. After the Tokugawa banned open access to foreign trade and shifted their fabric purchasing to Edo, the Chaya switched to trade in fine Kyoto textiles.[139] Documents indicate that Tōfukumon'in presented Mitsuoki's *Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples with Poem Slips* screens —which were either ordered by her or given to her by another member of the imperial family—to one of the family heads named Shirōjirō, likely the fourth- or fifth-generation Shirōjirō, given their period of manufacture (fig. 73).[140] Once again art points to connections between court leaders and Kyoto townspeople.

Tōfukumon'in supported another leading shop, the Kariganeya.[141] The master of this textile shop in the mid-seventeenth century, Ogata Sōhaku, belonged to the circle of wealthy and cultivated merchants in Kyoto, joining his maternal uncle, Hon'ami Kōetsu, at the aforementioned artists colony of Takagamine and practicing calligraphy in the style of Kōetsu. The Kariganeya flourished under Sōhaku's management, and for a while the Ogata enjoyed wealth and social recognition. Sōhaku was even invited to the wedding of Tokugawa Hidetada and Eyo-no-kata.[142] Sōken (1621–1687), the fifth-generation head of the shop, also brushed shoulders with influential individuals, including leading aristocrats. Sōken associated with members of the aristocratic Nijō family, one of whom presented fans painted by Sōken's son, Kōrin (1658–1716), to Tōfukumon'in.[143] Particularly useful in reconstructing Tōfukumon'in's orders from this shop are the Kariganeya's detailed records, which verify that she ordered from its owners numerous pieces of richly ornamented apparel.[144] Tōfukumon'in's many purchases from the Kariganeya ensured its success, so much so, in fact, that the shop floundered after her death in 1678. Compounding Sōken's difficulties were his numerous uncollectable loans to warrior lords. The sons of Sōken, Kōrin and Kenzan (1663–1743), inherited the Ogata fortune, but they were the last family members to enjoy the Kariganeya's prosperity.

Thus, it is clear that Tōfukumon'in and Go-Mizunoo—while on the throne, as well as later—built numerous bridges to Kyoto's wealthy townspeople even though custom dictated that individuals of lower status were not allowed to have direct contact with members of the imperial family. Related to this, the imperial couple continued into the middle of the seventeenth century to engage with Kyoto



85 Tea caddy. 17th century. *Nashiji* lacquer. 6.8 x 6.7 cm; and gold brocade pouch. Kawabata collection, Kyoto.

townspeople and popular culture in various ways. For example, Kakubi entertainers were still being invited to perform at court.[145] Or to cite another example, in 1660 when Go-Mizunoo took a trip to Ninnaji, he stopped on the way at the Myōkōji mountain retreat of Udda Kagenori (or Uda; d. 1670), a wealthy merchant with extensive cultural affiliations.[146] Based on this sort of evidence some scholars have concluded that the imperial couple intentionally used cultural contacts to build an imperial-commoner coalition against the Tokugawa. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, for example, maintains that certain shared cultural pursuits of aristocrats and townspeople were understood as forms of resistance against the Tokugawa.[147] In discussing tea circles of Kyoto in the 1620s and 1630s he states that the imperial family practiced a form of *chanoyu* deliberately different from the "warrior tea" followed by those in high military circles, and Kyoto townspeople preferred the courtly tea, seeing it as a political response to their problematic circumstances.[148] While court leaders certainly recognized elite commoner backing as one way to enhance imperial prestige, there is little documentary support for the claim that court leaders cultivated an imperial-commoner coalition in opposition to the Tokugawa or for the claim that Go-Mizunoo was himself a member of *machishū* circles.[149] No evidence indicates that Go-Mizunoo belonged to a circle of untitled, unranked individuals, which would have been inconsistent with what is known about the protocol of the imperial court.

Documentary evidence from the middle decades of the century reveals that members of the imperial family—while watching Kabuki at the palace, visiting cultural luminaries belonging to Kyoto's merchant class, and engaging in certain other ways with commoner culture—were now generally operating at a remove from townspeople and, in this way, reinforcing the sanctified exclusivity of the imperial institution. In 1636, for instance, when Go-Mizunoo hosted a tea gathering at his retirement palace of Sentō Gosho to celebrate the unsealing of jars with new tea leaves (*kuchikiri chakai*), his guests were all from the nobility.[150] In 1637, Go-Mizunoo granted the second-generation Ikenobō Senkō the title of *hokkyō*, but after that there is little further indication of Go-Mizunoo's involvement with *rikka*. Even though Senkō II lived until 1658, and *rikka* continued to be popular among Kyoto's townspeople, customs had apparently changed at the palace of the retired emperor.[151] Moreover, records from the mid- to late seventeenth century note that a bakufu representative escorted the retired imperial couple on its numerous trips to visit religious sites and relatives' estates around the Kyoto area; whether members of the imperial family appreciated this supervision is uncertain, but it can be presumed that they valued the respect it engendered.[152]

Japanese anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao offers fascinating insights into the continued respect for emperors during the medieval and early modern periods, starting with the period of the Ashikaga shoguns and extending through to the Tokugawa shoguns.[153] For Yamaguchi, a significant question is the centrality-versus-marginality of the emperor, expressed by his ambiguous place as a mythic figure in premodern Japanese beliefs. The emperor had a responsibility to integrate the whole nation, but he was also an outsider, a stranger to the everyday lives of his subjects. For Yamaguchi, imperial rule forms the basis of a cosmology that orders both time and space and, in his words, it was "the most powerful symbol of the intrusion of strangeness into ordinary daily life."[154] Yamaguchi continues:

> The institution of kingship [imperial rule] can be viewed not only as a political institution, but as a mythical system through which a people can experience the world as a totality; that is, people can enrich everyday life with a sense of reality that can be experienced only by getting in touch with the myth and symbolism of kingship. It is for this reason that kingship can sometimes survive as a part of a culture even after its disappearance as a political institution.[155]

When military rulers decided to preserve the imperial institution at the outset of the early modern period, they acknowledged the mythic importance of the emperor. But as Yamaguchi also notes, the em-

peror could serve as a touchstone for people's resentment toward the ruling military lords; accordingly, the Tokugawa carefully watched and regulated the imperial family.

With all their symbolic significance, emperors must have recognized their vulnerability under the ruling military lords. As far as we know, however, emperors did not overtly express such sentiments, at least in writing. A rare exception was retired Emperor Hanazono who made reference to the possible termination of the imperial institution in his *Kaitaishi sho* (Admonitions to the Crown Prince), an essay composed in the fourteenth century for his nephew, the future Emperor Kōgon. Hanazono warned his nephew that those who believed there would always be an imperial family were deluded.[156] These comments constitute an extraordinary firsthand record of a monarch's thoughts on rulership. Go-Mizunoo rarely recorded such specific observations on the state of his affairs, although in letters to his son, Emperor Go-Kōmyō, he did admit: "Since this is an age in which the warriors manage [political] affairs, some will maintain that there is no need to follow your orders," and "If the emperor acts without wisdom, judgments will be made by the bakufu. You will be judged, and I and the men and ladies of the court will suffer inconveniences."[157] Notwithstanding these comments, Go-Mizunoo never overtly complained about the Tokugawa, as far as we know. Expressions of commoner opposition to the Tokugawa can be read in some early seventeenth-century documents, but they would decrease in years to come, especially after the third shogun solidified his base of power. Although such expressions would not completely disappear, they tended to be expressed in increasingly veiled terms.



8

Visual Documents of the Emperor-Warlord Relationship

CULTURAL EXCHANGES between monarchs and shoguns gradually diminished through the middle of the seventeenth century, though both sides continued to make strategic moves and countermoves. Wealth and power enabled the Tokugawa to sponsor major projects and events displaying their affiliation with the court, and some of these helped the imperial family preserve its cherished place as upholders of traditional Japanese culture. As the country settled into a more predictable and peaceful order, emperors, along with the rest of the populace, acknowledged the need to submit to bakufu will. The imperial family was still held in high regard, but by mid-century the Tokugawa had largely absorbed imperial and aristocratic prestige. The extent of the court's frustration was fully revealed when Go-Mizunoo suddenly announced his abdication in 1629.

GO-MIZUNOO'S ABRUPT ABDICATION

Triggering Go-Mizunoo's decision to step down from the throne was the infamous "Purple Robe Incident" (*Shie jiken*), which resulted from the bakufu's decision to more stringently enforce Regulations for Religious Establishments. One of these regulations required the emperor to gain prior approval from the Edo government before promoting Buddhist priests to the eminent rank of Purple Robe (*Shie*).[1] Advancing members of the Buddhist clergy to Purple Robe status had been a traditional prerogative of the emperor, encouraging close connections between the imperial household and certain important religious institutions. High-ranking Buddhist priests were required to hold a correspondingly high court rank: for example, the monastic title "Eminent Monk" (*Shōnin*) entailed holding the fifth rank at court—and a grant of courtly ranks required aspiring priests to make a financial contribution to the court, as well as to cooperate with the court's political objectives.

The Tokugawa shoguns, however, were determined to redirect those court benefits to their own advantage. In 1615 the Tokugawa had voiced their intention to disrupt Buddhist-imperial connections by issuing the Regulations for Religious Establishments, but they only began enforcing the decrees in 1627, and in the interim Go-Mizunoo had ignored them. After Ishin Sūden—the bakufu advisor who had taken a leading role in drafting the Regulations—called the imperial dereliction to bakufu attention, the regime overturned all of Go-Mizunoo's Purple Robe appointments, and called the emperor to account.

Go-Mizunoo then asked several of his Purple Robe appointees to compose a written defense of the appointments. Complying, the priests argued that the Regulations had nothing to do with Buddhist temple traditions and thus were not valid. The bakufu accepted their defense in part, reinstating

Emperor Gosai. *Kindai shūka* , detail of fig. 92.

some of the appointments but eventually punishing six monks with temporary banishment from Kyoto. Although the banishments were comparatively short, they were an insupportable embarrassment to the throne. On the eighth day of the eleventh month of 1629, Go-Mizunoo abruptly, and with no prior warning to the bakufu, abdicated. Hidetada, enraged, reportedly even considered exiling the monarch, but his advisors intervened, convincing Hidetada of the negative ramifications of such a move.[2]

It was inevitable that Go-Mizunoo would reflect on the circumstances of his abdication, and a number of his surviving poems convey an attitude of resignation over his fate. For instance, a New Year's poem by the retired emperor—inscribed in his own distinctive, unaffected calligraphy on *kaishi* paper and mounted as a hanging scroll—is preserved in the *monzeki* collection of Shōgo'in.[3] Though undated, we can safely assume that it postdates his abdication since it expresses a tone of somber reflection on long life, and a certain sense of regret at how events unfolded. It reads:

Kono haru ni	Unexpectedly, this spring,
semete odoroku	even I have faced reproach—
mi tomo kana	as the ancient saying goes,
haji ōshi chō	"the longer a man lives,
inochi nagasa o	the greater the shame he faces."[4]

Since the *waka* is labeled as a *shigō*, a New Year's composition, we normally would expect a more celebratory or auspicious message, especially from an exalted resident of the palace: spring poems are supposed to express feelings of hope.[5] This poem is decidedly downbeat and melancholy. The final line of the poem refers to a saying from the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi*, "if life is long, the shame is great" (*inochi nagakereba haji ōshi*). The saying was no doubt known to Go-Mizunoo through its citation in *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness) by Yoshida Kenkō (1283? –1350?): "The longer man lives, the more shame he endures. To die at the latest, before one reaches forty, is the least unattractive."[6] We can speculate that Go-Mizunoo, through the subtly coded language of *waka*, is expressing remorse over the chain of events that led to renunciation of the throne. While he must have regretted his circumstances, his abdication was an opportunity to free himself from endless duties. In many respects he was able to exercise greater authority as retired emperor, just as his father had when he retired in 1610.

With Go-Mizunoo the retired emperor (*jōkō*), Tōfukumon'in assumed the rank of retired empress (*kōtaigō*) on the day after their daughter Meishō was selected to succeed Go-Mizunoo. Following custom, a group of ranking aristocrats chose the empress's retirement name, a name ending in "mon'in," with the "mon" referring to a palace gate.[7] A retirement name was assigned thoughtfully, to suggest something unique about the woman. Tōfukumon'in's name intimates a continued connection with her natal family. Literally, it means "Retired Empress of the Gate of Eastern Fortune," and the Gate of Eastern Fortune at the palace was likely selected because it indicated good fortune coming from the east, or Edo.

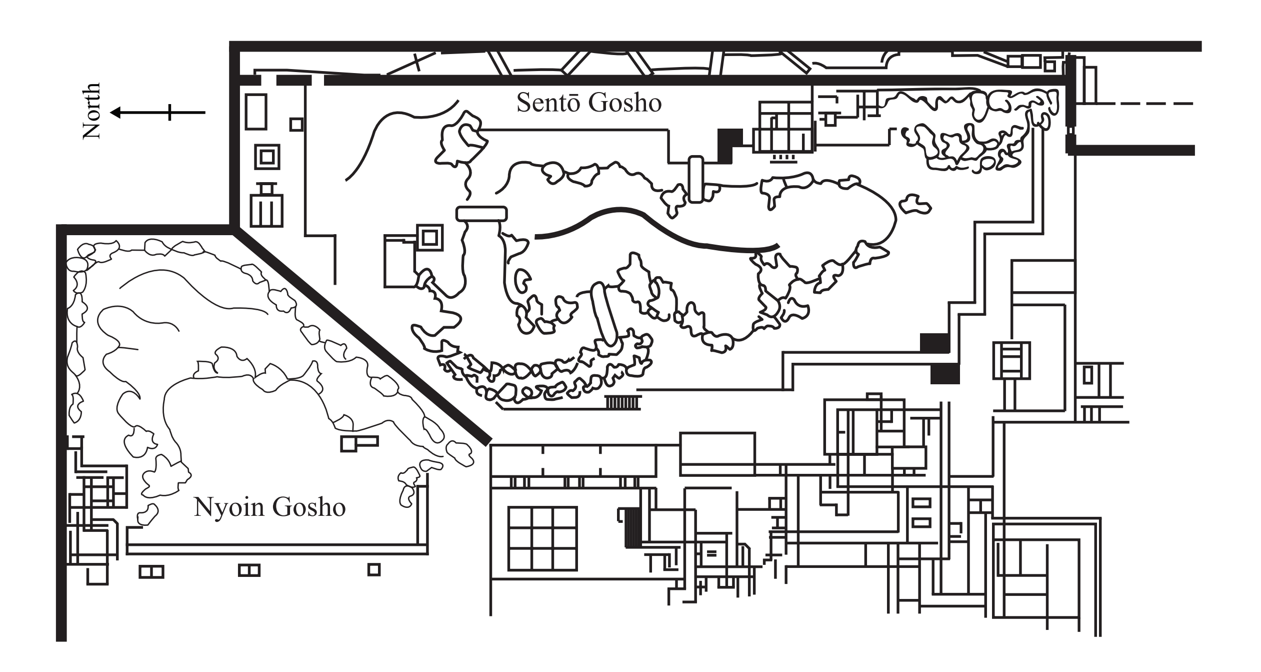
At this point Tōfukumon'in's father, the former shogun Hidetada, was living in nominal retirement, controlling affairs from the sidelines, as he did until his death in 1632. Although interactions with his son, Iemitsu, the third shogun, were frequently hostile, the two presented a united front to preserve Tokugawa rule. Neither Hidetada nor Iemitsu had proved his leadership on the battlefield; instead, each was forced to establish his dominance as head of the bakufu administration, which required symbolic substitutions for martial valor.[8] Iemitsu was particularly successful at this. Over the course of his twenty-eight-year term as shogun, Iemitsu shaped the Edo regime into a well-tuned organization centered on his personal authority. In the early years of his shogunate, the Tokugawa were still concerned with establishing the legitimacy of their government, but by the end of his term in 1651 the supremacy of Tokugawa rule was undeniable. Although the Tokugawa shoguns continued to place a high value on imperial sanction, they were resolved to limit popular access to the emperor and

develop an ideology of their own. Accordingly, they began turning to scholars versed in exegeses on the art of government, including clerics familiar with the political and ethical philosophy of Neo-Confucianism.

Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in continued to involve themselves in court affairs for more than fifty years after his abdication. They served as guardians and advisors for four successive monarchs, each of whom was a daughter or son of Go-Mizunoo. The retired imperial couple also maintained a busy schedule of activities, sponsoring artistic projects and cultural events, as seen in the previous chapter. Upon retiring, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in established their bases of operation in separate precincts adjacent to the southeastern corner of the imperial compound, Go-Mizunoo at Sentō Gosho and Tōfukumon'in at Nyoin Gosho (fig. 86).[9] Builders completed the retirement palaces—Tōfukumon'in's at the north and about half the size of her husband's—in the early 1630s, with residences and gardens designed by Kobori Enshū.[10] Later, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in established a villa-and-garden complex on the outskirts of town at Shugakuin, discussed below. Through the middle years of the seventeenth century, the retired couple shored up a legacy of cultural engagement, contributing notably to the arts.

EMPRESS MEISHŌ'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

Go-Mizunoo's retirement paved the way for a Tokugawa dream to come true when a descendant—Princess Okiko, the seven-year-old daughter of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in—was chosen as the imperial successor, later known as Empress Meishō. By the time of Go-Mizunoo's abdication Tōfukumon'in had borne five children, including two princes, both of whom had died young. Their eldest daughter, seven-year-old Princess Okiko, was therefore selected as Go-Mizunoo's replacement. Meishō was the first female monarch (*jotei*) in over eight hundred years—since Empress Shōtoku in 764. Moreover, she was the first reigning monarch



86 Diagram with buildings and gardens of Sentō Gosho and Nyoin Gosho, Kyoto.





87 *Enthronement Ceremony of Empress Meishō and a Procession.* Mid-17th century. Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 115.4 cm x 345.4 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (78–12/1, 2).





in hundreds of years who had close family ties to military lords.[11]

The Accession Audience, at which Meishō's investment was officially recognized, occurred on the twelfth day of the ninth month of 1630. The ceremonies announced to the spirits of imperial ancestors and to the human world that a new descendant of the Sun Goddess had taken the throne. An early surviving illustration of Meishō's accession appears in the anonymous pair of screens, *Enthronement Ceremony of Empress Meishō and a Procession* (*Meishō tennō gosokui gyōkō-zu byōbu*), which was acquired by the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (fig. 87).[12] The right-hand screen illustrates the enthronement ceremony, and the left shows a procession that presumably took place about the same time.[13] The pair can be dated by visual evidence to the years immediately following Meishō's enthronement.[14]

The right screen (shown here at top) conveys a sense of formal grandeur, bespeaking the significance of Meishō's enthronement ceremony for all parties involved. The screen pictures the Kyoto imperial palace with the Shishinden, the Hall of State Ceremonies, at the left and the Dantei (also known as the Nantei), an open courtyard with raked white gravel, at the right. The eastern gate of the courtyard, the Nikkamon or Sun Gate, stands near the center at the upper part the composition, and the western gate, the Gekkamon or Moon Gate, stands in the lower zone. For centuries, the Shishinden and adjoining Dantei had served as the site of many official *dairi* gatherings. Eighteen steps leading up to the southern, main entrance of the Shishinden are flanked by the mandarin orange tree at right and a cherry tree at left, as seen from the young empress's position sitting inside the Shishinden facing south.

Small slips of paper inscribed with the names of individuals and buildings are pasted across the *Enthronement* screen. One identifies the figure of Nijō Yasumichi (1607–1666), the minister of the right who served as the Inner Spokesman (*naiben*) at this ceremony, seated in a small open structure in the lower left corner of the screen.[15] Near the center of the screen is a figure standing in the Dantei, who



87a The Dantei, detail of right screen.

faces the Shishinden and apparently declaims the address of congratulations. A row of female attendants holding banners appears at the left of the Shishinden entrance, and even though we can not see into the building, we can assume that Meishō has taken her seat on the *takamikura* throne.

The painter incorporated symbols with imperial associations throughout the screens, down to minute details, such as the images of a crow, a kite, and a moon on finials atop three tall poles in the third panel from the right (fig. 87a). These poles stand in the middle of a row of banners aligned just inside the southern gate of the Dantei. The crow—more specifically, the three-legged mythical creature known as the Yata Crow (*Yata karasu*)—refers to an ancient legend about Emperor Jinmu, who was supposedly guided to safety by this bird. The kite—known as the Sacred Kite (*Reishi gata*)—also derives from a legend in which the Sun Goddess sent this bird to Jinmu on the battlefield to lead him to victory. Therefore, the presence here of the Yata Crow and the Sacred Kite symbolizes the Sun Goddess's protection of the new emperor or empress.[16]

Go-Mizunoo carefully planned the accoutrements and activities for Meishō's costly coronation rites, which were funded by the Tokugawa, indicating the importance that both parties—the bakufu and the *dairi*—attached to these events. The Accession Audience had always been one of the most significant rites of the court, and for his daughter's enthronement, Go-Mizunoo revived an ancient, complex version of the ceremony that had not been practiced since the fourteenth century. With this serious and dignified rite, Go-Mizunoo expressed once again his desire to restore to the court the prestige that it had enjoyed in earlier eras.

Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu sent a number of governmental officials from Edo to attend the accession rites of his niece; the officials included ranking warriors Sakai Tadakiyo (1623–1681) and Doi Toshikatsu (1573–1644). According to the *Tokugawa jikki*, Edo authorities ordered Kano Tan'yū to produce a painting illustrating Meishō's enthronement.[17] Tan'yū, who had already participated in a number of major commissions for the Tokugawa, was recognized as the leading Kano painter by this point, even though he was only twenty-nine years old. Fifteen years earlier, he had been appointed official painter to the Tokugawa, and several years after that, he had relocated to Edo.[18] Stylistic analysis indicates that the Nelson-Atkins Museum screens may, indeed, be the Tan'yū screens mentioned in



87b Procession, detail of left screen.

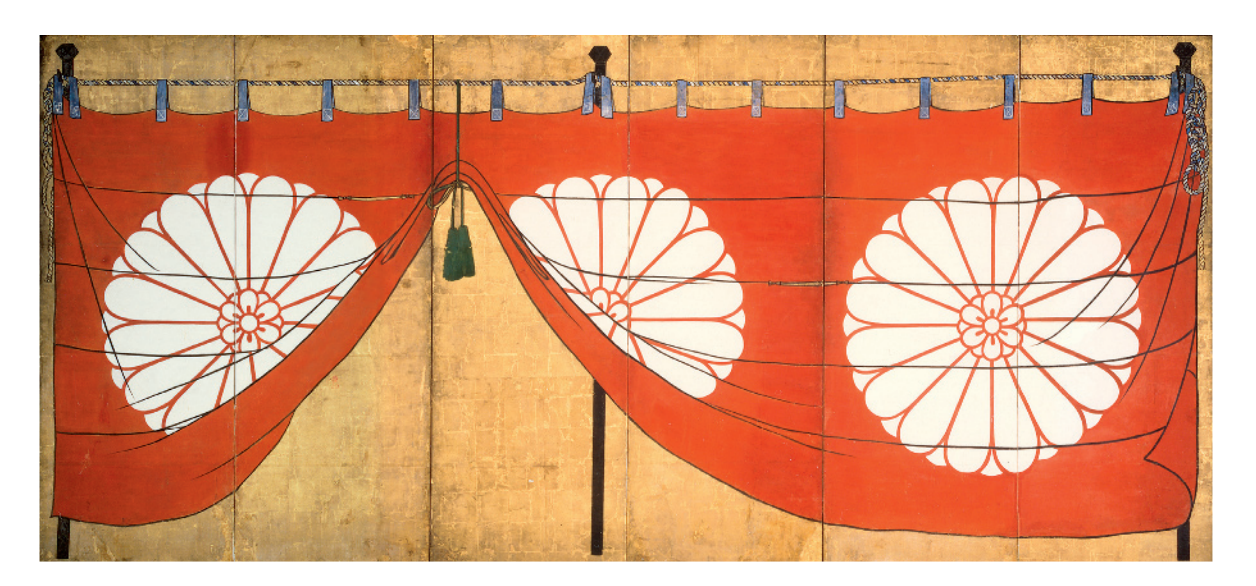
the *Tokugawa jikki*; no documents survive, however, to verify this hypothesis.[19]

The procession represented in the left-hand screen of the Nelson-Atkins Museum pair has not been clearly identified. It is likely one of two events: either it pictures Go-Mizunoo and members of his family moving to the retirement palaces or alternatively it pictures Meishō on her first excursion to visit her parents after being named empress. If the former, the carriage at the front of the procession would be that of the emperor (fig. 87b).[20] If the latter, then that carriage would be carrying Meishō.[21] In either case, the gate that the party is about to pass through is the South Gate of Sentō Gosho. On the second panel from the right, a cartouche identifies a male figure in court costume who is just outside the gate as Ichijō Kanetō, the brother of Go-Mizunoo who had formerly served as minister of the left and who had recently been appointed regent of the court (*sesshō*).

Both scenes—the Enthronement and the Procession—are among the earliest known large-scale depictions of the contemporary events that they picture. The artist may have originated the compositions in consultation with a member of the imperial family, and he may have based his renderings on compositions discussed in earlier chapters. One model for the Procession screen may have been the large-scale *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* screens in the Sakai City Museum (fig. 2). Although different thematically, the Jurakutei screens' composition is similar, showing the entourage of Emperor Go-Yōzei making a series of sharp turns as it processes down city streets.

The *Enthronement* screen was apparently considered a worthy model to emulate, since several extant screens painted within a century have nearly identical compositions.[22] Based on stylistic considerations, two of these *Enthronement* screens have been attributed to Kano artists working in the second half of the seventeenth century.[23] That Meishō's accession remained an appealing subject to the clientele of Kano painters—including but not limited to members of the Tokugawa family—indicates that there were individuals of wealth and status who continued to attach a special significance to their association with the imperial household.

In addition to the pair of screens of *Enthronement Ceremony of Empress Meishō and a Procession*, several related works preserved at Sennyūji in Kyoto are attributed to Kano Tan'yū.[24] One is a single six-panel screen of *Painted Bunting* said to have



88 *Painted Bunting*. 17th century. Six-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper. 176 x 384 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.

belonged to Empress Meishō (fig. 88).[25] This screen features a bright red cloth curtain depicted on a gold ground; pulled up near its middle, the curtain has a bold design of three white imperial crests with a chrysanthemum flower seen from the back (*uragiku*). With its bold graphic design, this screen could readily function as a dramatic backdrop to palace events. Furthermore, it might have had hanging scrolls draped over the top for display at palace gatherings.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE *DAIRI* AND BAKUFU LEADERS

During Meishō's years on the throne, the Tokugawa were still preoccupied with the task of consolidating their regime, and carefully monitored the activities of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in. They restricted the imperial family, while simultaneously making overt displays of affiliation with the Kyoto court. A significant individual in the middle of this interaction was Itakura Shigemune, the bakufu's magistrate in Kyoto (*shoshidai*), whose charge was to guard the *dairi* and oversee court affairs. Shigemune had already played a central role in negotiating between the bakufu and emperor, and his presence is noted in illustrations of major promotional events sponsored by the Tokugawa, such as the processions of Tōfukumon'in's wedding entourage and the Kan'ei imperial visit. Shigemune served as magistrate from 1620 until 1654, proving himself an effective conduit of information between Kyoto and Edo, including details of the comings-and-goings of the retired imperial couple.

When Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in made a short excursion in 1647 to the Nagataniden, a mountain lodge in northeastern Kyoto kept by Go-Mizunoo's brother, tonsured Prince Dōkō of Shōgo'in, Shigemune accompanied them.[26] In the following year, when the retired imperial couple undertook a trip to visit their daughter, Princess Akiko, at the Iwakura Palace, also located in Kyoto's northeastern hills, Shigemune joined them again.[27] As on past trips, Shigemune had scouted in advance on horseback and ordered the building of resting places along the way. It is assumed that his company was ostensibly meant to provide protection, but Shigemune's presence was as much a requirement as a courtesy. That is to say, the Tokugawa authorities charged Shigemune with keeping an eye on the retired imperial couple at all times.

After the death of Go-Mizunoo's son Go-Kōmyō in 1654, Go-Mizunoo wrote to Sakai Tadakatsu (1587–1662), the *tairō* (one of the highest officials in the bakufu), asking permission to take a casual trip to Shugakuin and other sites around Kyoto in order to take his mind off the loss of his son. In the letter, Go-Mizunoo explains that if he were to inform Shigemune, the Kyoto magistrate would call upon a phalanx of guards, and Go-Mizunoo hoped to avoid this. Go-Mizunoo concludes that there was no need for worry: "Any sort of visit I take will not cause the bakufu any loss."[28] This letter is one of several documents that reveal the Kyoto magistrate's supervision of the retired emperor, even decades after his abdication.

Like his father before him, Shigemune operated not only as magistrate in the ancient capital, but also as host of various cultural gatherings at his Kyoto residence.[29] In 1649, when Shigemune hosted a tea gathering at his residence, which brought together leading cultural figures, flower arrangements sent by Go-Mizunoo were displayed (as mentioned in the previous chapter).[30] But as *shoshidai*, Shigemune's role was more than cultural sponsor, it was above all enforcer of law and order as defined by the Edo authorities, and at times that even meant harsh punishment for individuals accused of crimes related to cultural activities. In 1655, for example, Shigemune ordered the execution of eight Kyoto townsmen for selling forged calligraphy.[31]

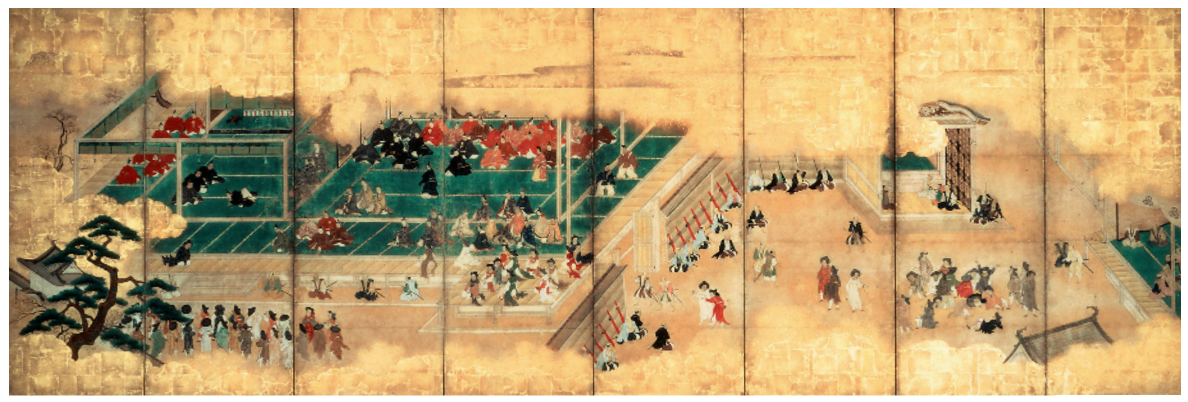
Despite their ongoing surveillance of the *dairi*, the bakufu maintained an active interest in connections with the imperial family. This is evident in artistic projects such as the two sets of handscrolls of the *Origins of the Tōshō Shrine at Nikkō*, recounting legends surrounding the founder of the Edo regime, Tokugawa Ieyasu.[32] Go-Mizunoo learned of this project when Iemitsu asked him to write parts of the text. He acceded, as did several ranking aristocrats, and they brushed sections of text for the first set. According to the Tokugawa advisor Nankōbō Tenkai, the retired emperor consented with the hope of obtaining religious merit.[33] The set was to be finished in time for its dedication to the Nikkō Tōshōgū on the twenty-first anniversary of Ieyasu's death in 1636; only the first of three scrolls in the set was completed in time, however. These are unillustrated scrolls, but several years later Tokugawa Iemitsu ordered a second set of scrolls on the subject with paintings by Kano Tan'yū; in one scene Tan'yū pictures the 1617 transport of Ieyasu's remains from Kunōzan Tōshōgū to Nikkō (fig. 39).

Emperors had for centuries provided calligraphy for handscrolls, and by enlisting the help of Go-Mizunoo in writing text for the handscrolls, Iemitsu revealed the value that he continued to place on imperial sanction. When Iemitsu ordered the second set, Go-Mizunoo declined to contribute as calligrapher.[34] The text of the new scrolls referred to significant political issues for the Tokugawa, especially the relationship between shogun and emperor. Go-Mizunoo claimed he could not contribute due to illness, but in fact he may have balked at the highly inflated, propagandistic nature of the text of the new scrolls, as suggested by Karen Gerhart.[35]

THE SHOGUNATE'S KOREAN CONNECTION

Through the next two decades, Iemitsu successfully enacted measures to both signal and expand Tokugawa dominance and authority. He tightened control over warriors, implemented administrative reform, and added legislation. In conjunction with this Iemitsu further limited people's opportunities to encounter foreign people, goods, and ideas. The Edo government had already taken steps to isolate the country, and now Iemitsu banned overseas travel and prohibited the construction of ships large enough to sail abroad. One of the few countries with which the Tokugawa encouraged ties was Korea, and diplomatic interaction with Korea was carefully orchestrated by Iemitsu for maximum political benefit. In regard to shogunal power and Korean contacts early in Iemitsu's rule, a telling comment was made by the Tokugawa official Andō Shigenaga (1600–1657), who was charged with procuring lodging for a Korean mission. In corre-





89 Kano Masunobu. *Reception of the Korean Mission.* Mid-17th century. Pair of eight-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Each screen 166.5 x 505 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.

spondence with the Korean ambassador, Shigenaga writes:

> … the shogun [Iemitsu] is even now not yet supreme, and so the hearts of the [Japanese] people are even today not yet submissive. Therefore we [the bakufu] awaited the arrival of your embassy most eagerly. We thought we would subjugate the land by a boastful display, conducting an embassy well suited to the situation. The shogun is deeply pleased. Had the embassy failed to arrive, the Japanese people might have doubted that we were totally at peace.[36]

Shigenaga made this comment in 1624, just one year after Iemitsu became shogun; by the time of Iemitsu's death in 1651, however, the shogun must have seemed supreme and the bakufu a stable regime that could ensure a valid social order. Indeed, under Iemitsu the Tokugawa bakufu attained power sometimes equaled but never surpassed in its 264-year history. Many respected Iemitsu, and some even revered him. Five leading officials willingly followed him in death by committing suicide (*junshi*).

In 1651 Ietsuna, son of Iemitsu and nephew of retired Empress Tōfukumon'in, was named the fourth Tokugawa shogun, and, with this, the Edo government confronted a serious problem. The ten-year-old Ietsuna was clearly not ready to govern, and the mere survival of the bakufu under his rulership is notable.[37] From early in Ietsuna's shogunate, governmental decisions were made by key members of the Edo administration in conclave. Despite lingering resentments against Tokugawa



89a Kano Masunobu. Edo Castle, detail of left screen.

rule and various other problems—including Ietsuna's subsequent years of poor health and widespread perceptions of bakufu corruption—Ietsuna retained the shogunal title, relying heavily on his inner circle of advisors.

One painting created during Ietsuna's years as shogun that is remarkable for its political iconography and its demonstration of ongoing bakufu interest in the court is the screens, *Reception of the Korean Mission* (*Chōsenkoku shisetsu kantai-zu byōbu*; fig. 89). With this work—a pair of eight-panel folding screens painted by Kano Masunobu (1625–1694) and preserved at Sennyūji—the Tokugawa apparently once again attempted to use their connection with retired Empress Tōfukumon'in for their own strategic purposes. A document states that Tōfukumon'in received the screens as a gift from someone in the Edo government.[38] Conceivably the screens were ordered by the shogun, but more likely by a high official who presented them to Tōfukumon'in.[39] Given the large scale of the screens, the bakufu benefactor must have intended them for display in one of the large public chambers of the imperial palace, and it is likely that they were so displayed.

The *Reception of the Korean Mission* represents two scenes set in Edo, both featuring a Korean embassy that was sent to Japan sometime between 1640 and 1660. At right is a procession of Korean ambassadors making its way through city streets to Edo Castle, stronghold and showcase of the Tokugawa. At left is the shogunal reception of Korean ambassadors within Edo Castle (fig. 89a). As the shogun was self-appointed as the only person pow-



90 *Portrait of Emperor Go-Kōmyō*. 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. 109.5 x 62.5 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.



91 *Portrait of Emperor Gosai*. 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. 117 x 51.5 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.

erful enough to receive delegations of foreign emissaries, the two scenes demonstrate the legitimacy and authority of the Tokugawa government. The scenes also show Japan as a regional power receiving foreign embassies and tribute gifts. In giving these screens to Tōfukumon'in, shogunal authorities were sending a visual message that they continued to value contacts with the court, undoubtedly due to their sense of dependence upon the sanction granted by the emperor.

Once again, we see how artworks shaped as well as reflected the dynamic between court and military leaders. In the middle of the seventeenth century, when these screens were painted, the bakufu leaders still relied upon the prestige traditionally associated with the imperial court to validate their right to rule. Moreover, the national isolation imposed by Tokugawa overlords encouraged people in Japan to reflect upon their own heritage, one in which only an emperor, as ministrant to his divine ancestors, could invoke benefits for his country.

GO-MIZUNOO'S PROGENY AND THE IMPERIAL LINEAGE

In retirement Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in had two more children, both girls. As imperial patriarch and matriarch, they remained dedicated to preserving their family line; the centrality of lineage still determined both public and private aspects of the imperial household. That is not to say, however, that Tōfukumon'in was the mother of all of Go-Mizunoo's children. It was three sons of Go-Mizunoo by other women who succeeded Meishō as monarchs and who continued the family tradition of cultural sponsorship and ceremonial activity.

In 1643, at the age of twenty-one, Meishō relinquished the throne, presumably because a male successor had reached an appropriate age to replace her. Meishō's half brother Go-Kōmyō—the third son of Go-Mizunoo—succeeded her.[40] In the polychrome *Portrait of Emperor Go-Kōmyō* at Sennyūji, a youthful Go-Kōmyō appears serious and intent (fig. 90).[41] Go-Kōmyō was a dedicated student of court traditions and Chinese learning.[42] He also delighted in practicing martial skills. According to one anecdote, when Go-Kōmyō began to train in fencing, the Kyoto magistrate became highly alarmed and even threatened suicide, perhaps to express his concern for the monarch's safety if he continued to practice dangerous pastimes.[43] Go-Mizunoo counseled Go-Kōmyō to obey orders, presumably meaning directives from the *shoshidai* and the bakufu, and the former emperor warned that others at court would suffer the consequences if he did not.[44] When Go-Kōmyō died suddenly as a young adult in 1654, some said that the bakufu had been uncomfortable with Go-Kōmyō's military interests, suspicious that he might consider leading an armed revolt against the Tokugawa. Rumors even spread that the Tokugawa ordered his assassination, but mostly likely he died of illness.[45]

Go-Mizunoo's eighth son, Gosai, succeeded Go-Kōmyō in 1654.[46] A polychrome *Portrait of Emperor Gosai*, also preserved at Sennyūji, shows him in white court robes and a black cap (fig. 91).[47] Although Go-Kōmyō, and Meishō before him, had

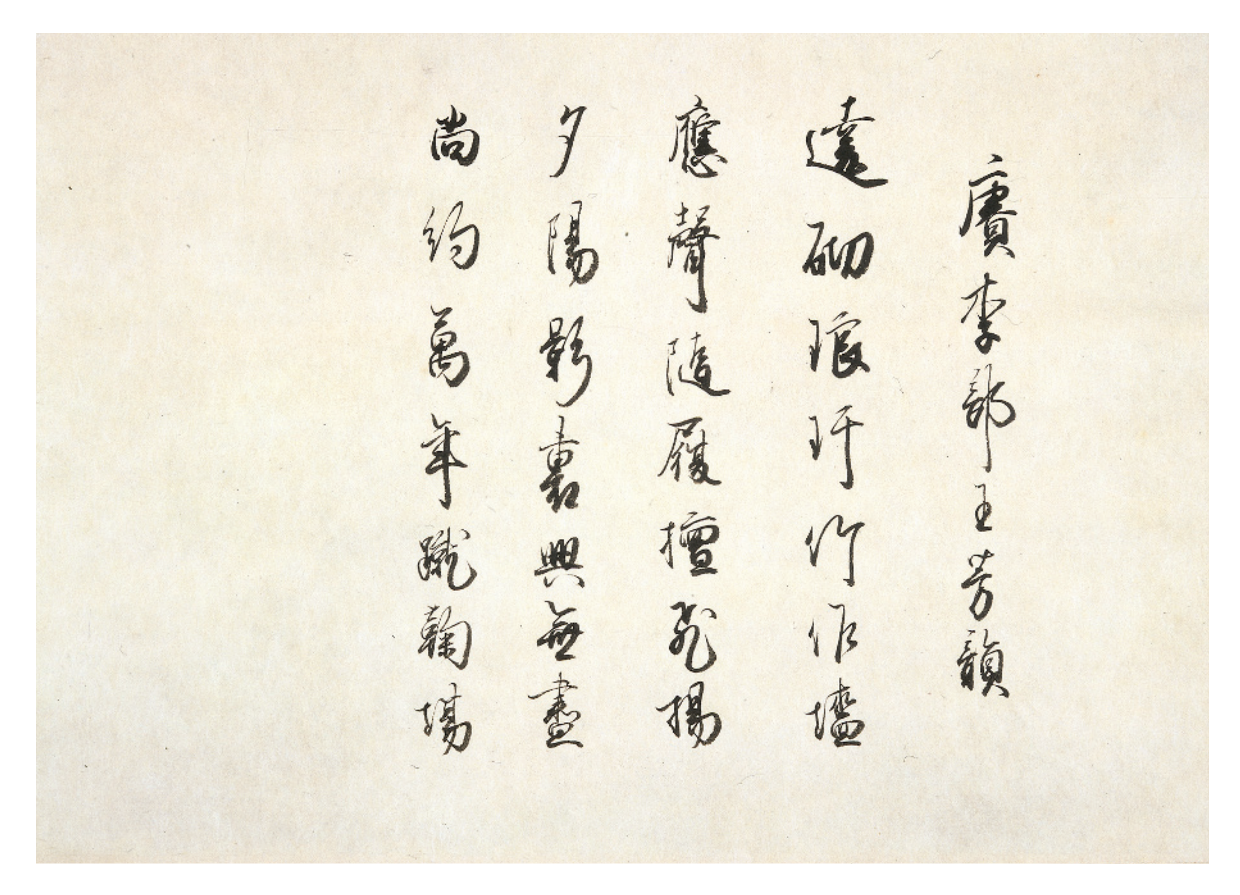


92 Emperor Gosai. *Kindai shūka* (Collection of Fine Poems of Recent Generations). Late 17th century. Two pages from an album; ink on decorated paper. Each page 17.5 x 12.4 cm. Gyobutsu—Imperial Collections (Imperial Properties). Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan.

produced no male heirs, Gosai was not an obvious successor, having previously been adopted into the aristocratic Arisugawa family. Nevertheless, he was the only surviving son of Go-Mizunoo still in secular life. In time his cultural accomplishments outshone those of Go-Kōmyō. An avid practitioner of the aristocratic arts, Gosai transcribed numerous court records and commissioned copies of many old manuscripts.[48] A number of these were copies of Japanese literary works and Chinese classical texts, which served as the core of the Higashiyama Bunko (Imperial Library) collection, now housed in the Kyoto Imperial Palace. Gosai's fondness for "ancient writings" (*kohitsu*; antique calligraphies), especially those by emperors and renowned court poets, is revealed in his choice of scrolls for display in tea rooms.[49] Gosai delighted in the composition and critical analysis of verse; indeed, he received instruction from his father in the "secret traditions" of poetry.[50] *Collection of Fine Poems of Recent Generations* (*Kindai shūka*), a small album in the Imperial Household Collection, is Gosai's transcription of an anthology of twenty-seven *waka* and commentary compiled in 1262, based closely on an original of 1209 by Fujiwara no Teika (fig. 92).[51] Some of



93 Tonsured Princess Shōzan Gen'yō. *Portrait of Retired Emperor Reigen.* Early 18th century. Detail of a hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 95.6 x 54.8 cm. Unryūin, Kyoto.



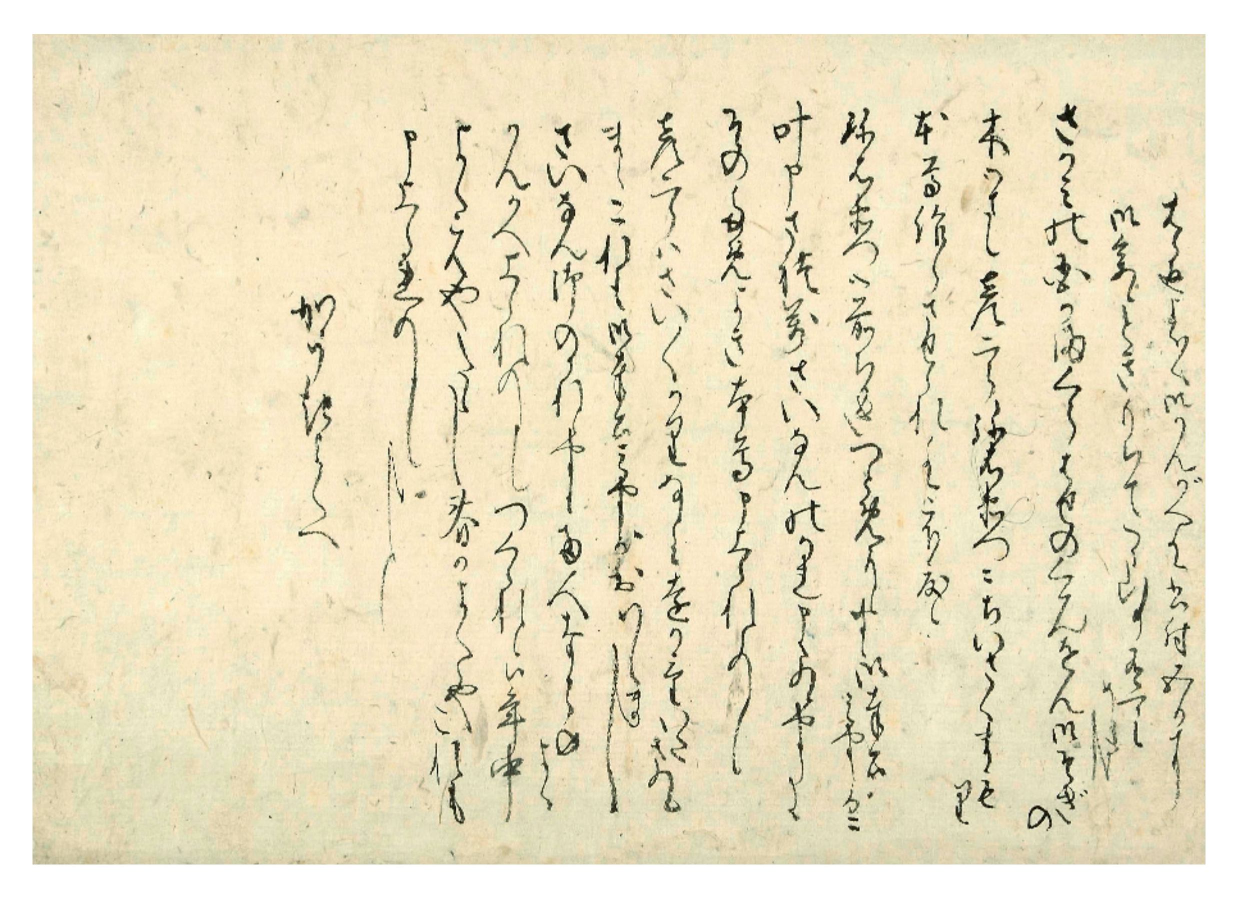
94 Emperor Reigen. Chinese quatrain. 1729. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 32.3 x 46 cm. Gyobutsu–Imperial Collections (Imperial Properties). Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan.

the elegantly decorated pages in the *Kindai shūka* are hand painted, others printed with stencil patterns in gold, silver, and mica, and the calligraphy emulates the hand of Gosai's father.[52]

In 1663 Gosai abdicated, reportedly under pressure from the Tokugawa, and the nineteenth of Go-Mizunoo's sons was named as his replacement: Emperor Reigen.[53] The *Portrait of Retired Emperor Reigen* preserved at Unryūin shows him with shaved head and monastic garb (fig. 93). This was painted by Reigen's sister Shōzan Gen'yō, who also created the portrait of Go-Mizunoo found at Unryūin, along with numerous other paintings housed at *monzeki* in the Kyoto area (fig. 70). Reigen garnered respect for reviving court ceremonies, creating calligraphic and painted works, and upholding literary traditions.[54] More than six thousand poems survive by his hand, many brushed in a refined archaic style (*jōdai-yō*). Reigen's Chinese quatrain with seven-word lines (*shichi-gon zekku*) from the Imperial Household Collection is written in semi-cursive script (*gyōsho*) following Chinese order in lines of equal length (fig. 94). The poem reads:

> Encircling the stairs, the splendid bamboo forms a wall,
> Echoes follow our footsteps and fly about as they will.
> In the shadows of the evening sun, our joy is never ending,
> Let us play ten thousand years upon this football field.[55]

Reigning for twenty-four years, from 1663 until 1687, Reigen occupied the throne when Go-Mizunoo died in 1680.



95 Empress Meishō. Letter to Kōgyoku Shinkei, Abbot of Jūzenji. Mid- to late 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 32 x 45 cm. Fujii Eikan Bunko, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto.

In addition to his many illustrious sons, Go-Mizunoo's daughters also made important contributions to court life as supporters of cultural and religious pursuits. Tōfukumon'in encouraged the female imperial offspring, both those born to her and others she watched over, to keep a busy schedule of engagements like hers, many of which comprised much more than diversions. As empress, regnant and retired, Meishō maintained a circle of accomplished acquaintances, as surviving letters, inscriptions, and paintings testify. The various Buddhist texts she inscribed and dedicated to the memory of Tōfukumon'in indicate her spiritual and daughterly dedication. A group of Meishō's inscribed sutra scrolls, along with her paintings and letters, are preserved at the Tendai temple of Jūzenji in Yamashina.[56] Jūzenji was rebuilt during the mid-seventeenth century under Kōgyoku Shinkei, the Buddhist teacher of Meishō. A letter she addressed to Shinkei, which is preserved in the Fujii Eikan Bunko, concerns a Buddhist icon she had commissioned (fig. 95).[57] The letter, containing *kana* and a few Chinese characters, documents Meishō's activity as a disciple and patron, presumably patterned after her mother's sponsorship practice.

Like Meishō, several imperial princesses were active sponsoring and undertaking religious devotions, presenting fine objects as donations and gifts, acquiring items for use at cultural events, and making art works of their own. At least ten princesses born to Go-Mizunoo took Buddhist vows and oversaw religious institutions in or near Kyoto that were



96 Tonsured Princess Daitsū Bunchi. Names of deities. 1686. Inscription made from fingernails of Emperor Go-Mizunoo; mounted on a wooden plaque, set in a lacquered shrine. H. 24.9 cm. Enshōji, Nara.

affiliated with the imperial family.[58] The tonsured princesses practiced poetry, painting, and other cultural pursuits that they had learned as girls in the palace, many of which were serious cultural engagements that enabled them to demonstrate their accomplishments. Several daughters of Go-Mizunoo were married to prominent noblemen: Princess Teruko to Konoe Hisatsugu (1622–1653), Princess Gashi to Nijō Mitsuhira (1625–1682), and Princess Tsuneko to Konoe Motohiro (1648–1722). The couples shared interests in poetry competition, tea, and other activities of the cultivated elite.

Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in exercised considerable influence over their children and engendered great respect in them, as well. Indeed, Go-Mizunoo came to be venerated by several of his children even during his lifetime, as attested by an inscription with names of Buddhist deities formed from the emperor's fingernails (*tsume myōgō*; fig. 96).[59] Go-Mizunoo's eldest daughter, the nun Daitsū Bunchi, created this piece by gluing the emperor's fingernails to a wooden surface and setting it into a small lacquered shrine.[60] The three-line inscription has a central phrase that reads "Homage to Śākyamuni Buddha" (*namu Shaka butsu*), a frequently intoned prayer invoking the compassion of the historical Buddha. At the two sides are sacred names: the bodhisattva of transcendental wisdom (J: Monju; S: Mañjuśrī) at right and the bodhisattva of meditative practice (J: Fugen; S: Samantabhadra) at left. This relic plaque is preserved at Enshōji, the nunnery that Bunchi founded, and bears an inscrip-

tion on its back explaining that she created it in 1686, on the seventh anniversary of her father's death.[61] Bunchi's fingernail construction recalls the practice of collecting and worshipping bodily relics, including the fingernails of revered individuals.

Various bodily relics had been venerated in India since the early years of Buddhism and related to worship of the Buddha's physical remains. Buddha relics were said to transform into wish-granting jewels, which in Japan came to be associated with the imperial regalia.[62] Bunchi's nail relic is not the only enshrined fragment derived from Go-Mizunoo's body. Bunchi made other such pieces from Go-Mizunoo's nails, bearing either multi-line inscriptions or a single character.[63] One of Go-Mizunoo's teeth is similarly enshrined, likely venerated by a family member.[64]

Traditionally, the physical aspect of the emperor was considered so exalted that attendants were not allowed to cut his hair or nails and doctors were not permitted to examine his body. Female servants were assigned to bite off the emperor's nails and hair, rather than cut them.[65] This practice demonstrates ongoing reverence for the spiritual power of the imperial person, as do court rites such as the "Presenting of Hair," described in Chapter 4. Bodily relics of Go-Mizunoo meant for worship were especially meaningful to certain women in the seventeenth-century imperial family.

Go-Mizunoo also continued to forge family connections with the Tokugawa into the second half of the seventeenth century. Most notably he played a key role in arranging the marriage of an imperial granddaughter, Princess Hiroko (1666–1741), daughter of Princess Tsuneko and Konoe Motohiro, to Tokugawa Ienobu (1662–1712), the sixth Edo-period shogun. Go-Mizunoo thus cemented bonds with the Edo rulers by means of marriages of daughters and granddaughters, revealing again the centrality of maintaining the "right" family ties and the imperial lineage's connections with power.

THE IMPERIAL RETREAT AT SHUGAKUIN

While residing at Sentō Gosho and Nyoin Gosho, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in made excursions around town and into the surrounding areas, often to the residences of family members. In the *Mujūhōin-dono gonikki* (Diary of Mujōhōin), Princess Tsuneko records that her father, the retired monarch, visited her over a hundred times in the final fourteen years of his life.[66] Among many additional accounts of expeditions made by the former emperor and empress are those mentioned by the tonsured aristocrat Hōrin Jōshō in his *Kakumei-ki*. In one diary entry Hōrin speaks of the couple's "secret outing" in the tenth month of 1647.[67] This outing was nominally to collect mushrooms at the Nagataniden, but it seems that the couple was also exploring the area in hopes of locating a site for a retreat of their own.[68]

In another entry in his *Kakumei-ki* Hōrin describes an excursion taken by the couple in 1648 to visit their daughter at the Iwakura Palace, also located in Kyoto's northeastern hills.[69] Tea rooms had been built for this visit, along with two residential halls, one for Go-Mizunoo and one for Tōfukumon'in. Accompanying the former emperor and empress on their trip to Iwakura was an entourage of imperial princesses, ladies-in-waiting, and noblemen, as well as the Tokugawa magistrate in Kyoto, as explained above. The retired emperor enjoyed the scenery in this vicinity, with its mountains and valleys, and soon he indicated a desire to construct his own mountain villa nearby at Shugakuin.[70]

Shugakuin had long been recognized as a scenic locale, ideal as a suburban retreat. Water from Otowa Falls, which descends here in three streams from Mount Hiei, was considered some of the finest in the Kyoto area, especially prized for making tea. Yoshida Kenkō, author of the literary miscellany *Essays In Idleness* cited above, had built an abode at Shugakuin in the fourteenth century, but it had vanished by Go-Mizunoo's time. Construction of the imperial villa at Shugakuin commenced in the 1650s with funds provided by the Tokugawa.[71] The



97 Map of Shugakuin Imperial Villa. 1682. Ink and light color on paper. Kunaichō Shoryōbu.





98 Attributed to Kano Atsunobu. *Gion Festival Floats*. Ca. 1677. Pair of doors; ink, colors, and gold on cedar. 172 x 84.3 cm. Shugakuin Reception Hall. Imperial Household Agency, Kyoto Office.

villa featured gardens and tea houses whose elegant design conveys a remarkable sense of openness, explaining in part why it is recognized as a masterpiece of Japanese landscape design. A map of Shugakuin, drawn in 1682 and preserved by the Imperial Household Agency, is the earliest known rendering of the site (fig. 97). Near the center of the map, set between upper and lower tea houses, are remains of the stone base of a structure with fields just below, as indicated in writing. The locale is also pictured in a six-panel folding screen formerly in the Takamatsunomiya family collection, which is dated based on visual evidence to the 1660s or 1670s.[72] In 1659, with the first stage of work nearly

finished, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in hosted a gathering to celebrate the progress at Shugakuin and to thank those who assisted in its development, including Hōrin.[73] This was one of many parties that the retired imperial couple would throw at their expansive villa, as they upheld their reputation for hosting elegant entertainments.[74]

Today the Shugakuin villa-and-garden complex encompasses 550,000 square meters and is overseen by the Imperial Household Agency. In addition to gardens and tea houses, also preserved there is a building that was first erected at the Nyoin Gosho, the compound of retired Empress Tōfukumon'in located in central Kyoto.[75] The structure, which was built about 1676 and whose interiors were painted about 1677, was moved to its present site at Shugakuin a few years after Tōfukumon'in's death.[76] Among the other interior paintings preserved in this structure are two cedar doors bearing images on both sides in rich polychrome of Gion Festival floats (*Gion sairei boko-zu*; fig. 98).[77] These once belonged to a larger group of painted doors from the palace of the retired empress, and are attributed by some scholars to Kano Atsunobu (1640–1718).[78]

The Gion Festival, initiated centuries earlier by an emperor, had become a major event organized by Kyoto townspeople in the seventeenth century. The townspeople carried the festivities to elaborate extremes, transforming the ceremony into a joyful celebration for the masses, and elements of the parade boasted commoner affluence. The ship float (*funeboko*) is one such element. With a beam resembling the mast of a merchant ship, the *funeboko* conveyed the townspeople's pride in the commercial trade that had fueled Kyoto's prosperity, even though that trade was now regulated by the Edo authorities.

Two constituencies in Kyoto claimed an interest in the Gion Festival in the seventeenth century: courtiers and townspeople. On the one hand, it was a monarch of the ninth century—Emperor Seiwa—who had initiated the Gion Festival, and thus the paintings point to a social order in which the imperial family had exercised pre-eminent authority over the land. On the other hand, it was merchant and artisan guilds that controlled the festivities in the seventeenth century. The presence of Gion float paintings in Tōfukumon'in's palace quarters thus integrates a nostalgia for the past, an appreciation of popular contemporary culture, and a promise that continuity of the imperial functions would bring stability. As we have seen, emperors Go-Yōzei and Go-Mizunoo strove to reinforce in people's minds an ancient belief that imperial leaders maintained a sanctified role, ensuring divinities' blessings upon the land. Tōfukumon'in clearly shared this intention, even though it was a purely symbolic stance by the final decades of her life. Her natal family, the Tokugawa, had effectively isolated the imperial family. Indeed, few of Go-Mizunoo's children revealed an interest in mixing with individuals outside the military and civilian elite; for example, records of tea gatherings hosted by retired Emperor Gosai in the 1660s and 1670s indicate that participants belonged exclusively to the nobility.[79]

For more than five decades Go-Mizunoo exercised authority as retired emperor, making many of the major decisions for the court, while Tōfukumon'in played a significant role as a maternal focus for the imperial family. We understand why the retired imperial couple held on to their authority when we consider the young age at which Go-Mizunoo's four successors came to the throne. At the time of their installations, Meishō was only seven years old, Go-Kōmyō was eleven, Gosai was eighteen, and Reigen was ten. Several of Go-Mizunoo's children held the throne long enough to enter maturity, but even then their father exerted considerable influence from Sentō Gosho, as did Tōfukumon'in from Nyoin Gosho. Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in thus managed to find common ground despite the coercion that brought them together, and through nearly six decades as a couple they cooperated to bolster the cultural, ceremonial, and symbolic profiles of the imperial court.

9

Closing Comments

The cultural and political symbolism attached to imperial prestige at the outset of the early modern period reveals that monarchs were not viewed as mere figureheads. Emperors in this crucial juncture in pre-modern Japanese history managed against odds to defend their hereditary position and augment the status of the imperial institution. At first it might seem somewhat ironic that they did this with the support of military lords, but the military lords had a vested interest in preserving the monarch's traditional esteem. The two sides were interdependent, warlords needing the legitimacy that emperors granted and emperors requiring the financial support that warlords provided. Naturally, this situation did not foster easy relations between the military and noble elites, and both Emperors Go-Yōzei and Go-Mizunoo were repeatedly hamstrung by the shogunal authorities.

The complex pattern of moves and countermoves made by each side is inseparable from the history of art. Indeed, artworks deployed in the emperor-warlord exchange were concrete manifestations of the complex dynamic created by mutual attempts to garner status and use tradition as a source of legitimacy. Imperial prestige was derived from an ideology of old, and it was expressed in the monarch's enactment of ritual and cultural observances. While on the throne, Go-Yōzei learned that he could draw upon the imperial ideology in his interactions with Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. And when he abdicated in 1610, Go-Yōzei showed no intention of relinquishing power; instead, he indicated a desire to revert to an *insei* system that had flourished in the late Heian period, whereby a retired emperor maintained control of affairs of the court.

Go-Mizunoo, despite his different temperament, became highly influential as well. During Go-Mizunoo's eighteen years as emperor, two Tokugawa shoguns, Hidetada and Iemitsu, extended generous support to the imperial family, while simultaneously maneuvering to limit the political power and the physical movement of the court's leaders. Like his father, Go-Mizunoo revived annual rituals of the court and sponsored an abundance of literary and visual art. Go-Mizunoo understood the advantages of promoting himself as the patriarch of the imperial clan and of advancing his role as sacred intermediary with the divine benefactors of the realm.

In 1651, immediately after the death of the third Tokugawa shogun, Go-Mizunoo took the tonsure, assuming the mantle of Dharma Emperor, and with this he became the representative of the Buddhist institution in state affairs, further enhancing his religious stature. Although some scholars interpret Go-Mizunoo's dedication to Buddhism as a sign of his increasing political disaffection, it is equally valid to read it as a sign of his political engagement, just as it had been in his father's case.[1] Both Go-Yōzei and Go-Mizunoo undertook religious practice, especially Shingon and Tendai rituals and Zen training. Furthermore, both maintained close contacts with priests of leading

temples, though their motive was not to absent themselves from secular affairs. Quite the contrary. Recognizing the emperors' motives, the Tokugawa correspondingly moved to minimize the benefits accruing to the imperial household from its patronage of religious institutions.

Thus it was that Go-Mizunoo, with Tōfukumon'in at his side, spearheaded a movement that reached far beyond the *dairi*. While ensuring the preservation of hallowed courtly traditions, they also enjoyed and at times even participated in cultural activities much in vogue in Kyoto—such as *rikka*, *chanoyu*, *kabuki*, among others—and they realized that both types of sponsorship would enhance respect for the imperial court and serve as public censures of Tokugawa encroachments. In their engagement with various forms of revivalist and popular culture, the retired imperial couple expressed their unique political interests as court leaders. And with these activities, they created a legacy of imperial arts that would survive through the remainder of the Edo period.

Art played an integral part in the dynamic between court and military leaders during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Involvement with art enhanced the prestige of the courtly and shogunal elites, and both sides exhibited a range of artistic interests. In contextualizing works of art, we begin to understand the meaning given to the objects, as well as to the ownership and exchange of those objects. Analysis of art yields information not present in or necessarily complementary to information uncovered in textual sources, revealing the complicated process by which two leading parties negotiated their social and political place at the outset of the early modern era.

Endnotes

Introduction

1 See, among others, G. B. S. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, rev. ed. (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1976), pp. 444–74.

2 A pathetic picture of the court prevailed in much early and mid-twentieth-century scholarship. Early in the century John Carey Hall stated, "The Kyoto nobility, stripped of their old monopoly of place and power, viewed with unsleeping jealously [sic] the domination of their upstart military despoilers, and were always on the watch for any chance that a fortunate turn of events might bring;" see Hall, "Japanese Feudal Laws: III. The Tokugawa Legislation," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 38, no. 4 (1911), p. 271. Recently, scholars have contested that interpretation.

3 These imperial leaders have been the focus of a number of exhibitions. Catalogues from the exhibits include Nezu Bijutsukan, ed., *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 1965); Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Miyako no miyabi: Kinsei no kyūtei bunka ten* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1988); Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 1995); and Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana: Go-Mizunoo-tei to Tōfukumon'in Masako* (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 1996).

4 Hideyoshi had apparently not wanted the title of shogun perhaps for a number of reasons. He may have thought that the title had been devalued by recent Ashikaga shoguns and that it therefore did not convey the notion of the nationwide military authority he intended for himself. In addition, the final Ashikaga shogun, while exercising no authority in his final years, remained alive until 1597, the year before Hideyoshi died. For more on Hideyoshi see, for example, Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

5 Early scholarship includes: *Go-Mizunoo, Tōji nenjū gyōji*, in *Shinchū kōgaku sōsho*, vol. 5, ed. Mozume Takami (Tokyo: Kōbunko Kankōkai, 1927); Tsuji Zennosuke, *Kōshitsushi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Higashi Fushimi no Miya Zōhan, 1932); and Wada Hidematsu, *Kōshitsu gyosen no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1943). This study also draws upon the following sources: Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron* (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1974); Kumakura Isao, *Go-Mizunoo'in* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1982); Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo tennō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982, 1994); Wakita Haruko, "Sengokuki ni okeru tennō ken'i no fujō," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, vol. 340 (1990), pp. 1–27 and vol. 341 (1991), pp. 30–59; Fukaya Katsumi, *Kinsei no kokka*: *Shakai to tennō* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1991); and Imatani Akira, *Sengoku daimyō to tennō* (Tokyo: Fukutake Shoten, 1992).

6 See, for example, Shi Chao Lun, "Edo shoki no jōi mondai to tennō no seijiteki ichi no kōzō," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, vol. 694 (1997), pp. 1–18; Kubo Takako, *Kinsei no chōtei un'ei*: *Chōbaku kankei no tenkai* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 1998); Hashimoto Masanobu, *Kinsei kuge shakai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002); Nomura Gen, "Kan'eiki ni okeru Go-Mizunoo tennō no sejiteki ichi," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, vol. 484 (December 2002), pp. 29–53; Nomura Gen, *Nihon kinsei kokka no kakuritsu to tennō* (Osaka: Seibundō, 2006); and Kubo Takako, *Go-Mizunoo tennō: Chitose no saka mo fumiwakete* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2008).

7 See, for example, Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); Asao Naohiro and Marius B. Jansen, "Shogun and Tennō," in *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500–1650*, ed. John Whitney Hall, Keiji Nagahara, and Kozo Yamamura (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 248–70; Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*; Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994); John W. Hall, "The Bakuhan System," in *Warrior Rule in Japan*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Lee Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467–1680: Resilience and Renewal* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002). On court ranks and hierarchies, see William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), pp. 790–831; and Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 443–60.

8 In the seventh and eighth centuries, with the enduring establishment of a central administration at a fixed capital city, the Japanese adopted a dynastic ruling structure loosely based on a Chinese model, having at its apex an emperor, usually male, but sometimes female. After Emperor Kanmu in 794 moved the capital to Heian-kyō, present-day Kyoto, Japan saw a culmination of imperial authority; by the late tenth century, however,

the aristocratic Fujiwara clan, by astutely marrying Fujiwara daughters into the imperial family, had effectively usurped the monarch's political power. Nonetheless, legitimacy to rule in his name was still the emperor's to bestow. Later, warrior lords invoked the emperor's name as their justification to rule.

9 See, among others, Hayashiya, *Chūsei bunka no kichō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1959); *Koten bunka no sōzō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1964); and *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*.

10 Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Introduction," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism in Japanese Painting, 1600–1700*, ed. Elizabeth Lillehoj (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 1–19.

11 Research has revealed the courtly dimensions of some warrior sponsorship and acquisition. To cite just one example, lacquer artists selected courtly motifs associated with the centuries-old romance the *Tale of Genji* to decorate dowry items for Chiyohime, the eldest daughter of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. Laura Allen, "Japanese Exemplars for a New Age: Genji Paintings from the Seventeenth-Century Tosa School," *Critical Perspectives on Classicism in Japanese Painting*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 99–132. There are also noteworthy studies that consider warrior patronage of painting with courtly themes in earlier periods; two examples are: Karen Brock, "The Shogun's Painting Match," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 433–84, and Melissa McCormick, "Genji Goes West: The 1510 *Genji Album* and the Visualization of Court and Capital," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 85, no. 1 (2003), pp. 54–85.

12 To clarify, although I find Hayashiya's theory of a classical revival not wholly supportable, his concept of a Kan'ei cultural phase is more persuasive.

13 See Kumakura Isao, *Go-Mizunoo'in*; *Kan'ei bunka no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988); *Chanoyu no rekishi* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1991); and others.

14 See, for example, Sugimoto Mari, "Kyūtei saron ni miru dentō no keishō: Kan'ei bunka no hyōka o megutte," *Geinōshi kenkyū*, vol. 111 (1990), pp. 34–42; Oka Yoshiko, "Mō hitotsu no Kan'ei bunkaron: Buke to dōgu no kankei," *Kyōto-shi rekishi shiryōkan kiyō*, vol. 10 (1992), pp. 389–419; and Tanaka Yūko, "Edo bunka no patoronēji," in *Dentō geinō no tenkai*, vol. 11, *Nihon no kinsei*, ed. Kumakura Isao (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), pp. 143–76. For more, see also Chapter 7.

15 Tanaka, "Edo bunka no patoronēji," pp. 143–76.

16 For more on artistic networks and organizations, see Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868*, trans. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), and Ikegami Eiko, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). On patronage, see Lee Butler, "Introduction: Pre-modern Japan Through the Prism of Patronage," *Early Modern Japan*, vol. XII, no. 2 (Fall–Winter 2004), pp. 3–10.

17 See, for example, Wakita, *Tennō to chūsei bunka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), and "Sengokuki ni okeru tennō ken'i no fujō," pp. 1–27.

18 Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "In Name Only: Imperial Sovereignty in Early Modern Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1991), pp. 25–57.

19 See, for example, Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 1–15, and Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, pp. 372–73. The contributors to Steven D. Carter, ed., *Literary Patronage in Late Medieval Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993) explore ties between artistocrats, warriors, priests, and commoners in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In addition, Quitman E. Phillips explores aspects of the cultural capital of the imperial court in the late fifteenth century; Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475–1500* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 28–31.

20 Sandy Kita articulates the role of alliances between aristocrats and commoners in his reassessment of the art of Iwasa Matabei (1578–1650); Kita, *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. 7–8, 141–42. From a different perspective, Lee Bruschke-Johnson also describes the crucial place of the court in her study of art by the high-ranking nobleman Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614); Bruschke-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan* (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2004). In a publication that focuses on the tonsured nobleman Hōrin Jōshō (1593–1668), Karen Gerhart considers social ties in Kyoto cultural circles. Hōrin, like Nobutada, was an influential aristocrat in the circle of Go-Mizunoo who contributed to courtly arts; Gerhart, "Kano Tan'yū and Hōrin Jōshō: Patronage and Artistic Practice," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 55, no. 4 (Winter 2000), pp. 483–508.

21 Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 99–114.

22 See, for example, Yoshiaki Shimizu, ed., *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture, 1185–1868* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988); Money L. Hickman, ed., *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 104–207; Kendall H. Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 53–58 and 105–112; Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Andrew M. Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in*

Momoyama Japan (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2004); and Matthew Philip McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

23 These include, among others, the books: Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1991–1992); Kirihata Ken, ed., *Inishie no miyabi no sekai: Ōchō no asobi* (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 1992); and Notoya Yoshiko, ed., *Asahi hyakka kōshitsu no meihō* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999). A recent series on court manuscripts is Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Gobunko gyobutsu: Kōshitsu no shihō*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1999).

These also include the following exhibition catalogues from Japan: Nezu Bijutsukan, ed., *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen*; Ishikawa Tadashi, Shirahata Yoshi, and Takeda Tsuneo, eds., *Kyō no miyabi: Kyū gosho ten* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1986); Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Konoe-ke Yōmei Bunko no meihō* (Ishikawa: Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1988); Sennyūji, ed., *Kōshitsu no otera: Sennyūji ten* (Kyoto: Sennyūji, 1991); Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Miyako no miyabi: Kinsei no kyūtei bunka ten*; Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*; Sannomaru Shōzōkan, ed., *Kyūtei bunka no hana* (Tokyo: Sannomaru Shōzōkan, 1993); Sannomaru Shōzōkan, ed., *Kokiroku ni miru ōchō girei* (Tokyo: Sannomaru Shōzōkan, 1994); Sannomaru Shōzōkan, ed., *Kyū Katsuragū denrai no bijutsu*: *Miyabi to karei* (Tokyo: Sannomaru Shōzōkan, 1996); Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana: Go-Mizunoo-tei to Tōfukumon'in Masako*; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kyūtei no bijutsu: Rekidai tennō yukari no meihō* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997); Saitama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jotei: Meishō tennō to shogun Iemitsu: Matsudaira Nobutsuna to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 1997); Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1999); Saitama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Shogun Yoshimune to kyūtei no miyabi: Zō ga yuku* (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 2000); and Gunma Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Shogun Ietsuna, Tsuneyoshi to kyūtei no bi: "Genroku no yo e"* (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 2000).

24 Catalogues and volumes accompanying exhibits in the United States and Europe include among others: Imperial Household Agency, ed., *Art Treasures from the Imperial Collections* (Tokyo: Imperial Household Agency, 1975); Carolyn Wheelwright, ed., *Word in Flower: The Visualization of Classical Literature in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989); John Rosenfield et al., *The Courtly Tradition in Japanese Art and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1989); Boston Museum of Fine Arts, ed., *Courtly Splendor: Twelve Centuries of Treasures from Japan* (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1990); Moritoku Hirabayashi, *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Moritoku Hirabayashi, *Essays: Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Maribeth Graybill, Manabe Shunshō, and Sadako Ohki, *Days of Discipline and Grace: Treasures from the Imperial Buddhist Convents of Kyoto* (New York: Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies, 1998); and John T. Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection, Imperial Calligraphy of Premodern Japan: Scribal Conventions for Poems and Letters from the Palace* (Kyoto: Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University and Norwich: Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, 2006).

25 Carolyn Wheelwright, "Introduction," *Word in Flower*, p. 12.

26 This interpretation is often found in literary studies. Admittedly, a few aristocrats, such as the eminent nobleman and scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402–1481), had operated outside the confines of the palace, instructing wealthy warriors and commoners on courtly literary practice. At the outset of the early modern era, however, classical prose and poetry were still closely superintended by a core group of artistocrats and were linked to the internal practices of the court; Steven D. Carter, *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, no. 16, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996), pp. 184–85. At times emperors were apparently willing, however, to sell their calligraphy to relieve their poverty; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 18.

27 The exhibit, entitled *The Special Exhibition Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the Emperor's Enthronement: Treasures from the Imperial Collection* (*Kōshitsu no meihō: Gosokui jūnen kinen tokubetsu ten*), was accompanied by a television program aired by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai or NHK). The museum translated the title of the exhibit as *Treasures from the Imperial Collection: The Essence of Art and Tradition*, excluding reference to the tenth anniversary of the emperor's accession.

28 Since the transfer, the Imperial Household Collection has been overseen by the Archives of the Mausolea Department (Shoryōbu) and the newly-formed Museum of the Imperial Collections (Sannomaru Shōzōkan), administered by the Imperial Household Agency.

29 Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 280.

30 Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 73 (June 1991), pp. 175–79.

31 For more on art works requested by or for members of the imperial and shogunal families, along with regional warrior lords in the Muromachi period, see, for example, Sakakibara Satoru, "Seikōji engi-e shiken," *Museum*, vol. 423 (1986), pp. 4–26; Sakakibara, "Kiyomizudera engi shaken," in Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Kiyomizudera engi, Shinnyodō engi*, vol. 5, *Zoku Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1994), pp. 118–39; Kamei Wakana, "Suntory bijutsukanzō Hie sannō-Gion sairei-zu byōbu no seisaku ito: Kyōto to Ōmi o miru manazashi," *Kokka*, vol. 1238 (December 1998), pp. 3–16; Kamei, *Hyōshō to shite no bijutsushi: Muromachi Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiharu to Tosa Mitsumochi no kaiga* (Kunitachi-shi: Brücke, 2003); and Takagishi Akira, "Muromachi-dono emaki korekushon no keisei," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 155 (2003), pp. 16–29. Melissa McCormick also examines aristocrat Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) in his extended role as intermediary between imperial patrons and the leading painter at court; McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009), pp. 83–109, 138–71. More on Momoyama- and Edo-period artistic commissions by leaders of imperial and warrior clans is given in chapters that follow.

32 One text composed to expound upon the accomplishments of a warlord and bolster his claims to legitimacy is Ōmura Yūko (d. 1596), *Tenshō-ki*, in *Taikō shiryōshū*, ed. Kuwata Tadachika (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1971), pp. 101–39. Notable among commentaries and journals kept at court are the annals titled *Oyudonoue no nikki* (Records of the Chief of the Imperial Housekeeping Office; kept from 1477–1625 and 1683–1826), Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, ed., *Oyudonoue no nikki* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1934, 1975, 1987). Aristocratic diaries include Kajūji Haretoyo (1544–1602/3), *Haretoyo nikki*, in *Zokushiryō taisei*, vol. 9, ed. Takeuchi Rizō (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967); also Hōrin Jōshō (1593–1668), *Kakumei-ki*, ed. Akamatsu Toshihide (Kyoto: Rokuonji, 1958–1967). Among artists' texts Kanō Einō, comp. *Honchō gashi*, in Sakazaki Tan, ed., *Nihon kaigaron taikan*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Meichō Fukyūkai, 1979–1980). Useful as well is Asaoka Okisada, *Koga bikō* (mid-19th c.), 3 vols. plus index vol., revised and enlarged by Ōta Kin as *Zōtei koga bikō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1904). Also significant are the palace architectural diagrams, some of which include annotations.

33 Hayashi scholars compiled the *Tokugawa jikki* in the nineteenth century as governmental records; *Tokugawa jikki*, Narushima Motonau, comp., *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, vols. 38–52, ed. Kuroita Katsumi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964–1966).

34 Amino Yoshihiko, the scholar of popular medieval culture in Japan, has observed among scholars in his field a similar reluctance to analyze nontextual materials. He writes, "The low esteem given by many historians to historical materials other than written documents, an attitude which often approached denigration of such sources, has to an extent actually hindered the advance of the field of popular history"; Amino, "Some Problems Concerning the History of Popular Life in Medieval Japan," *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 44 (March 1983), p. 79. Much the same can be said about the field of women's history.

35 For more on another notable woman sponsor of art, the senior wife of Toyotomi Hideyoshi named Kita no Mandokoro (1549–1624), see, for example, William Samonides, "Patronizing Images: Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Kōdaiji," *Nichibunken Japan Review*, vol. 7 (1996), pp. 99–125.

36 In recent years the study of *monzeki* culture has blossomed, largely under the guidance of the Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies (IMJS), based at Columbia University. IMJS sponsors the Imperial Buddhist Convent Survey Team, which is examining treasures long held in storage at *monzeki* nunneries. Research by Patricia Fister and several other scholars has contributed to our knowledge of women's sponsorship of Buddhist arts in the early modern era. See, among others, Fister, *Amamonzeki to nisō no bijutsu* (New York: Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies, 2003), and Fister et al., *Amamonzeki jiin no sekai: Kōjotachi no shinkō to gosho bunka* (Tokyo: Sankei Shinbun, 2009).

37 Most notably, Kubo Takako, *Tōfukumon'in Masako* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008). A 1996 exhibit included works made for and by the empress: Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*. Takeda Tsuneo, in a book whose title suggests that it focuses on the empress, presents a sweeping overview of seventeenth-century court culture, but with limited attention to the empress; Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980). Kumakura Isao, in *Go-Mizunoo'in*, reveals Tōfukumon'in's active participation in artistic circles at court. I have published two short articles with information on Tōfukumon'in: "Flowers of the Capital: Imperial Sponsorship of Art in Seventeenth-Century Kyoto," *Orientations*, vol. 2, no. 8 (September 1996), pp. 57–69, and "Tōfukumon'in: Empress, Patron, and Artist," *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1996), pp. 28–34. A few studies of specific aspects of

Tōfukumon'in's patronage practice have also been published; for analysis of her orders of textiles, for example, see Hanafusa Miki, "Kariganeya Ishō zuanchō ni okeru mai-odori no ishūō ni tsuite," *Fukushoku bunka gakkaishi*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2006), pp. 21–33, and "Tōfukumon'in to Shōken kōtaigō," in Fister et al., *Amamonzeki jiin no sekai*, pp. 252–69. In addition, two fictionalized biographies of the empress are available: Tokunaga Shin'ichirō, *Tōfukumon'in Masako* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1986), and Kakihana Honoka, *Yōgen'in no hana: Tōfukumon'in Masako* (Tokyo: Kijisha, 1997).

Chapter 1

1 Berry, *Hideyoshi*, pp. 170–89; Butler, *Emperors and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 62.
2 Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 99–114.
3 In 1576 Nobunaga ordered the construction of Azuchi Castle on the shores of Lake Biwa in Ōmi Province (present-day Shiga Prefecture).
4 Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, ed., *Oyudonoue no nikki*, vol. 7, p. 378; see also Okuno Takahiro, "Oda seiken no kihon rosen," *Kokushigaku*, vol. 100 (1976), pp. 49–50.
5 Construction on Osaka Castle began in 1583, with the initial phase of building being completed in 1588.
6 Ōmura Yūko, *Tenshō-ki*, pp. 80–82.
7 See among others the entry from the 7th day, 10th month, 1585, in the diary of Yoshida Kanemi (1535–1610), *Kanemi kyōki*; in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 11, no. 21 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996), pp. 78–79. See also Kumakura Isao, "Sen no Rikyū: Inquiries into His Life and Times," in *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu*, ed. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), p. 66, n. 5; Dale Slusser, "The Transformation of Tea Practice in Sixteenth-Century Japan," in *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice*, ed. Morgan Pitelka (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 52.
8 Kumakura, "Sen no Rikyū: Inquiries into His Life and Times," p. 35. Tanihata Akio remarks that "this was the beginning of an era which saw the full-scale introduction of *chanoyu* into the sacred Imperial precincts." Tanihata, "Chanoyu and the Imperial Court," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, vol. 71 (1992), p. 45.
9 The Jesuit Luis Frois (1532–1597) suggests an alternative reading, that Hideyoshi had the golden tearoom constructed for a meeting with the warrior lord Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–1587), who was seeking Hideyoshi's support against the rival Shimazu clan in Kyushu; Frois, *Cartas que os Padres e Irmaos da Campania de Iesus escreverao dos Reynos de Iapao & China* (Evora 1598), II, ff. 174, 179v.
10 William Samonides, "*The Kōami Family of Maki-e Lacquerers*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1991), pp. 88–91 and 177. Two lacquered objects in the Ninnaji collection may have been gifts that Hideyoshi bestowed upon Go-Yōzei; for more, see Okada Jō, Matsuda Gonroku, and Arakawa Hirokazu, eds., *Maki-e 3 Nihon no shitsugei* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1991), pls. 87–89. I would like to thank Anton Schweizer for alerting me to this information.
11 Ōmura Yūko, *Tenshō-ki*, pp. 78–79, 112; see also Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 274, n. 32. For more on palace construction of this period, see Fujioka Michio, *Kyōto gosho* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1956; Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987), pp. 172–73.
12 The regalia included a sword (*kusanagi no tsurugi*), a mirror (*yata no kagami*), and a strand of comma-shaped jewels (*yasakani no magatama*).
13 Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 179.
14 For more on Yūsai's accomplishments, see Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1969), pp. 729–30.
15 Hideyoshi issued a red-seal edict in the fifth month of 1592 declaring his intention to put Go-Yōzei on the throne of China. Hashimoto Masanobu, "Go-Yōzei tennō ni taisuru Hideyoshi no shōmon," *Nihon rekishi*, vol. 357 (1978), p. 34.
16 Kumakura, *Kan'ei bunka no kenkyū*, pp. 134–39.
17 Daimyōjin, translated as "Most Bright God," is a type of divinity associated with the religious traditions now known as Shinto.
18 For more, see, for example, Berry, *Hideyoshi*, pp. 184–87; Watsky, *Chikubushima*, p. 71.
19 For a depiction of Jurakutei, see the six-panel screen painting from the late sixteenth century in the Mitsui Bunko Foundation, Tokyo; see Hickman, ed., *Japan's Golden Age*, pp. 110–11, pl. 25.
20 The artists' family name can be transliterated either as "Kano" or "Kanō." See Notes to the Reader at the beginning of this volume.
21 Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, pp. 17–19; Tsuji Nobuo, "Jurakutei-zu byōbu ni tsuite," *Kokka*, vol. 871 (1964), pp. 9–17; Sakaishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Sakaishi Hakubutsukan yūhin zuroku* (Sakai: Sakaishi Hakubutsukan, 1990), p. 92, pl. 9. Another pair of screens said to be of the same subject were recently brought to scholarly attention but not yet published with detailed analysis; "Screens Shed Light on Hideyoshi Castle Mystery," *Asahi Shimbun*, September 12, 2009.
22 Itani Akira, "Jurakutei gyōkō-zu ni tsuite: Honkan zō Jurakutei gyōkō-zu byōbu no shōkai o kanete," *Sakaishi Hakubutsukan kanpō*, vol. 8 (1988), pp. 2–14.
23 In 1408 the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu invited Emperor Go-Komatsu to visit him at his Kitayama estate; and in 1437 Ashikaga Yoshinori hosted Emperor Go-Hanazono at his Muromachi mansion. Sources on

the visit of Go-Hanazono to Yoshinori's estate include among others: *Eikyō kunen jūgatsu nijūichinichi* and *Muromachi-dono gyōkō-ki,* in *Gunshō ruijū*, vol. 3, pp. 579–602, 568–78.

24 The Azuchi Castle plans included imperial chambers (*miyuki-no-ma*); see Hashimoto Masanobu, "Azuchi gyōkō o shimesu Tokitsunekyō-ki shihai monjo no ittsū ni tsuite," *Shojō kenkyū*, vol. 4 (1976), p. 1.

25 Ōmura Yūko, *Tenshō-ki*, pp. 101–39.

26 Ibid.

27 One volume of the "Juraku gyōkō-ki" survives in the Tokyo National Museum. Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, p. 21.

28 Ōmura Yūko, *Tenshō-ki*, pp. 102–12.

29 For more, see McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, p. 174.

30 On the taboo against representing the monarch's face in works of art, see Kuroda Hideo, *Ō no shintai: Ō no shōzō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993); Yamamoto Yōko, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō no hyōgen* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2006), pp. 239–56; and McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, p. 150. Admittedly, however, there were earlier portraits of emperors and retired emperors; for more see, for example, John M. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen: The Transformation of Buddhist Art in Early Medieval Japan* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 51–57.

31 While it is also possible that the artist was correct and that the textual description of the emperor's vehicle had been altered, that seems less likely.

32 A number of scenes featuring the imperial palanquin occur in illustrations of episodes from Heian-period narratives, such as the *Tale of Genji*. An example is the seventeenth-century fan painting of *The Imperial Progress from the Tale of Genji*; for illustration, see Melanie Trede, Julia Meech, and John Bigelow Taylor, *Arts of Japan: The John C. Weber Collection* (Berlin: Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2006), pl. 24.

33 The set, found today in a private collection, is referred to as the Tanaka family set. For illustration of the full set, see Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon emaki taisei,* vol. 8, *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977). Eight additional copies of the original postdate the Sumiyoshi version; for illustration of later copies, see Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Tokubetsuten gyōji-e: Shiki no irodori* (Osaka: Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, 2002). The set of *Annual Rites* handscrolls is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

34 An inscription at the end of the third scroll in the Sumiyoshi copy of the *Annual Rites* handscrolls notes that it was reproduced by Tosa Hiromichi; this is the name that Sumiyoshi Jokei went by before changing his family name and taking the tonsure in 1661. An inscription at the end of the first scroll in the Sumiyoshi copy, apparently written somewhat later, notes that Ikejiri Tomotaka (dates unknown), a *kunaikyō* at court, served as an intermediary for this project. Tomotaka held the position of *kunaikyō* from about 1649 until 1660. Therefore, the Sumiyoshi copy seems to have been painted over the course of several years in the mid-seventeenth century.

35 The first of five scenes in this section shows young Emperor Nijō preparing to depart from the Shishinden. This is a rare full figure rendering of the monarch; more often the emperor's face is not revealed. Incidentally, a later handscroll painting of *chōkin gyōkō*, representing the 1431–1432 procession of Emperor Go-Fushimi on a "first visit" to his parents is described by Prince Sadafusa (1372–1456) in his diary, the *Kanmon gyoki*; see Brock, "The Shogun's Painting Match," p. 451.

36 Takeda Tsuneo et al., *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 12, *Fūzokuga: Kōbu fūzoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980). Another seventeenth-century painting that captures the emperor riding in his palanquin is the set of handscrolls of the imperial procession to Nijō Castle (fig. 66), discussed further in Chapter 6.

37 Ōmura Yūko, "Juraku gyōkō-ki," pp. 108–9; translated by Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 160.

38 For more, see McKelway, *Capitalscapes*.

39 This pair of screens is attributed to an artist in the employ of a town painting shop, who was perhaps trained by a Kano artist. For more, see Miyeko Murase, in *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, Miyeko Murase and Mutsuko Amemiya (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 228–29. For more on a group of similar early seventeenth-century screens of *Scenes in and around Kyoto*, see also McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, pp. 178–200.

40 Although pairs of folding screens like this were not always displayed side by side, to maintain consistency in this analysis I shall treat this pair of *byōbu* as if they were set side by side and read as a single panorama extending from the right to the left screen.

41 As Matthew McKelway has amply demonstrated, these are "carefully mapped landscape[s] of human networks"; McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, p. 97.

42 Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 159.

43 By the modern period the screens of the *Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei* may have belonged to Count Sano Tsuneari; Itani, "*Jurakutei gyōkō-zu* ni tsuite," pp. 2–14.

44 Even though Wakisaka Jun proposes an early Edo-period date for the Sakai screens, Matthew McKelway and most other scholars date the work to soon after the Jurakutei excursion; Wakisaka in *Omoshiro no hana no miyako: Rakuchū rakugai-zu no jidai*, ed. Murai Yasuhiko et al. (Tokyo: NHK Promotion, 1993), p. 163; and McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, p. 256, nn. 36, 40.

45 McKelway for one suggests an attribution of the

Imperial Excursion to Jurakutei screens to a Hasegawa painter; McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, p. 256, nn. 36, 40. That said, it seems unlikely that the screens were painted by the founder of the Hasegawa workshop, Tōhaku, whose paintings tend to reveal a greater dynamism and sophistication at formal integration than seen here.

46 Thematically, *yamato-e* had long featured Japanese seasonal images, as well as sites made famous in Japanese court poetry and prose narratives such as the *Tale of Genji*. Later, *yamato-e* came to refer to planar use of space, flat areas of bright color, and various other stylistic features, some preserved by court artists. *Kanga*, in contrast, commonly incorporated elements of Chinese ink painting, especially of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties.

47 For illustration of the screen, see Michael R. Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style: Sixteenth-Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), p. 70, pl. 24.

48 For illustration of a pair of two-panel screens painted for Shōunji and attributed to Kyūzō, see Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style: Sixteenth-Century Art in Japan*, pp. 88–89, pl. 32.

49 A *koku* is a standard monetary measurement equivalent to about five bushels of rice. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 184.

50 Ibid., p. 185.

51 As Janet Ikeda observes, "By essentially embodying a poetic theme and thus becoming the primary locus of the literary gathering, Hideyoshi seized the opportunity to draw attention away from the emperor. All poems composed on that day could only exist in response to the pine or Hideyoshi"; Ikeda, "Memorialized in Verse: Hideyoshi's Daigo Hanami of 1598," *Oboegaki: Newsletter of the Early Modern Japan Network*, vol. 5, no. 1 (April 1995), p. 5.

52 Translation adpated from Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 185.

53 Ibid., p. 186.

54 The handscroll became well known in its own right and is now in the Kyoto National Museum. For illustration, see Hickman, ed., *Japan's Golden Age*, p. 185, fig. 64.

55 Although the screen in the Kobe City Museum is commonly said to represent the 1588 visit of Go-Yōzei to Jurakutei, an alternative (but less likely) proposal maintains that it pictures the emperor's second visit to Jurakutei in 1592; entry by Andrew Pekarik in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 112.

56 Okina is a Shinto god invoked to launch a program of Nō plays. Performed by an actor wearing a white-faced mask and the tall, lacquered cap of a courtier, Okina takes the form of an older gentleman with a joyful expression.

57 See, for example, Pekarik in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 112.

58 Ōmura Yūko, author of the aforementioned "Juraku gyōkō-ki," composed the *Taikō Nō*, five of which are known from surviving scripts. These plays depart from Nō traditions in their overt blurring of theatricality and politics; Steven Brown, "Theatricalities of Power: New Historicist Readings of Japanese Noh Drama," *Proceedings of the Midwest America Japan Literary Society*, vol. 2 (Summer 1996), p. 175. See also Nonomura Kaizō, ed., *Yōkyoku sanbyakugojūbanshū* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1928), pp. 675–76, 680–84, 704–6.

59 Entries from the 5th–7th days, 10th month, 1593, in the diary of Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi (1552–1640), *Tokiyoshikyō-ki* 1 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2001), pp. 243–45. The warlord's audacious use of Nō to promote his own ends knew virtually no bounds. He even intended to perform before the emperor in a play at the imperial palace, taking the part of the divine being Zaō Gongen; see Hickman, "Introduction," *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 41.

60 An entry in the anonymous contemporary account *Tōdai-ki* (Records of These Days), explicitly states this; entry from the 10th day, 9th month, 1607, *Tōdai-ki, Shiseki zassan*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kakusho Kankōkai, 1911), p. 109. For more, see Watsky, *Chikubushima*, p. 226.

61 See, for example, Pekarik in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 112.

62 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Ōgon no toki, Yume no jidai: Momoyama kaiga sanka* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997), p. 333.

63 Some scholars claim that in 1591 Hideyoshi was planning to order the imperial court to move to Osaka, site of his main stronghold, but I have yet to verify that claim. Asao Naohiro, "Toyotomi seikenron," in *Shokuhō seikenron, Shimpojiumu Nihon rekishi*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1972), p. 148.

64 For more on the fifteenth-century palace, see Shinbo Tōru, "Ōchō bijutsu no dentō: Shishinden–Seiryōden–Shōdaifū no ma–Kogosho no bijutsu," in Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 6, *Kaiga* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1992), pp. 201-2.

65 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 141–43.

66 The aristocrat Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), for example, recorded in his diary a number of consultations with Sōami on painting for the palace. See, for example, entries from the 17th day, 2nd month; 2nd day, 3rd month; and 12th day, 4th month, 1510, *Sanetakakō-ki*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 5, ed. Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1962–67 and 1979–80), pp. 333–34, 339, 351.

67 For more, see Brock, "The Shogun's *Painting Match*," pp. 433–84.

68 For more, see McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*, p. 87.

69 Wakita, "Sengokuki ni okeru tennō ken'i no fujō," pp. 1–27.

70 The Asakura warrior lords of Echizen Province (Fukui Prefecture), for example, provided 50,000 *hiki* to the imperial household in 1511, meant to cover the installation ceremony of Go-Kashiwabara but used to pay the cost of rebuilding the palace, as recorded in the diary of Kanroji Motonaga (1456–1527). Entry from the 15th day, 2nd month, 1511, *Motonagakyō-ki*, in *Shiryō sanshū*, vol. 30, ed. Haga Kōshirō (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1973), p. 188.

71 In 1575 Nobunaga ordered his officiator in Kyoto, Murai Sadakatsu (d. 1582), to oversee construction of a new fence around the palace and four years later the palace building. Ōta Gyūichi, *Shin chōkō-ki*, in comp. Nakagawa Taiko (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 121, 155–56; vol. 2, p. 35. See also Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 172–73.

72 Translation from Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 178; Ōmura Yūko, *Tenshō-ki*, pp. 77–79.

73 For more see, for example, Mary Elizabeth Berry, "Public Peace and Private Attachment: The Goals and Conduct of Power in Early Modern Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Summer 1986), p. 264.

74 This is not the same site as the original imperial palace in Kyoto. In the Heian period—at a time when the main boulevard running north-south through the center of Kyoto was farther to the west than in Go-Yōzei's day—the imperial palace had been situated about one kilometer west of the current imperial grounds. The original palace had suffered repeated fires and was completely destroyed about 1227, after which emperors resided elsewhere, most often in temporary palaces in the northern part of Kyoto. Later still, the land came into warrior hands, and Hideyoshi built his magnificent complex, the Jurakutei, on the land where the imperial palace originally stood. The contemporary Kyoto imperial palace had in earlier centuries been the site of a subsidiary villa or temporary palace—also known as a "rustic village palace" (*sato dairi*)—called the Tsuchimikado-den or Tsuchimikado-dairi. This had once served as the residence of a Fujiwara aristocrat, but ownership had transferred to the imperial household after Emperor Takakura retired in 1180 and took up residence at the Tsuchimikado-den. Around the time that Emperor Kōgon ascended the throne in 1332, the precinct had been designated as the official *dairi* grounds, followed by repeated phases of reconstruction.

75 In 1030, for instance, the court had issued an edict stipulating that only aristocrats of the seventh rank and above could build structures roofed with cedar-bark shingle. *Nihon kiryaku, Jingū shichō*, in *Koji ruien*, reprint, vol. 52 (Tokyo: Jingū Shichō, 1935–36), pp. 822, 1023. Aristocratic structures outside the *dairi* were also designed according to their function: main residences of ranking nobility followed the shinden style with symmetrical wings, while their country villas had less regular and less rigid arrangements. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, pp. 87–88, n. 8.

76 Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2009), p. 66.

77 For more on the Seiryōden, see Shinbo, "Ōchō bijutsu no dentō: Shishinden– Seiryōden–Shōdaifū no ma–Kogosho no bijutsu," pp. 200–1.

78 Documents on the 1590 palace reconstruction and painting include the *Oyudononoue no nikki* and the *Haretoyo nikki* (Diary of Kajūji Haretoyo, 1544–1602/3). *Oyudonoue no nikki*, vol. 8, p. 319; *Haretoyo nikki*, in *Zokushiryō taisei*, vol. 9, ed. Takeuchi Rizō (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967), pp. 272–73.

79 Kano painters had been attracting the attention of military leaders since the late fifteenth century. The line of painters had been founded by Masanobu (1434–1530), who garnered shogunal commissions and who tended to work alone or with only a few assistants. His son, Motonobu (1476–1559), enjoyed greater success, formalized several distinctive Kano styles, and founded a studio with a dozen or so painters. The Kano workshop thus established its reputation for competence and reliability as a warrior-sponsored team of painters. At times, these Kano artists followed stylistic approaches now commonly identified as *kanga*, or Chinese painting, but they also employed the variety of stylistic effects associated with *yamato-e*, or Japanese painting.

80 For more on the Kano workshop, see Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Workshop Management of the Early Kano Painters, ca. AD 1530–1600," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 34 (1981), pp. 32–47; Gerhart, "Talent, Training, and Power," pp. 9–30.

81 At court, initiates gained exclusive access to information about a specialization, allowing them to hold on to the court office. For more, see, for example, Amino Yoshihiko, "Chūsei no shokunin o megutte," in *Kinsei fūzoku zufu*, vol. 12, *Shokunin*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko and Ishida Hisatoyo (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1983), pp. 62–63. Referred to in Takeuchi, "Signed, Sealed, and Delivered," p. 93, n. 25.

82 As documentary evidence that Eitoku was active at the palace in 1586, see, among others, the entry from the 5th day, 1st month of that year, *Oyudonoue no nikki,* vol. 8, p. 36. See also the entry from the *Kanemi kyōki* cited in Takeda Tsuneo, *Kanō-ha kaigashi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), p. 439.

83 Ōta Gyūichi, *Shin chōkō-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 87–90.

84 Carolyn Wheelwright, "A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle," in *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed.

George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1981), p. 98.

85 Ibid., p. 105.

86 As documentary evidence that Eitoku produced paintings for Go-Yōzei's palace, see, among others, the entry from the 25th day, 6th month, 1590, *Oyudonoue no nikki*, vol. 8, p. 319.

87 For more on the Tosa workshop in this phase, see, among others, Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996), pp. 192, 209–20.

88 For more on the *Thirty-two Chinese Sages*, see Shinbo Tōru, "Kenjō no shōji," in *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 6, *Kaiga*, ed. Mainichi Shinbunsha, p. 207.

89 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō: Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979-88), pp. 517–18. Such building relocation was a common practice. During another round of palace restoration, later in the seventeenth century, Sennyūji would again be the recipient of imperial buildings.

90 Kawamoto Hideo, Kawamoto Keiko, and Miura Masayuki, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū: Ninnaji zō Keichōdo Kenjō no shōji o chūshin ni," *Kokka*, vol. 1028 (1979), pp. 9–28; *Kokka*, vol. 1029 (1979), pp. 7–31.

91 Hay, "Some Questions concerning Classicism in Relation to Chinese Art," *Art Journal*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Spring 1988), p. 27.

92 Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," pp. 8–11.

93 Nakayama, *Gadan keiroku*, in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), p. 177; see also Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760–1829* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2000), p. 283, n. 165.

94 Tachibana, *Kokon chomonjū*, entry 384, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 84, ed. Nagazumi Yasuaki and Shimada Isao (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974) 11, pp. 308–9; see also Yoshiko K. Dykstra, "Notable Tales Old and New: Tachibana Narisue's Kokon Chomonjū," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 47, no. 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 469–93.

95 Entry from the 19th day, 11th month, 1402, *Fukushōin kanpaku-ki*; Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, pp. 112 and 137, n. 36.

96 Entry from the 16th day, 9th month, 1488, *Chikanagakyō-ki*, in *Zōhō shiryō taisei*, vol. 43 (Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1965), p. 68.

97 As Kendall Brown puts it, the Shishinden set is "the first Japanese manipulation of Chinese exemplars as symbols of the cultural right to rule," and the line of revered figures "place[s] the Japanese emperor literally within a historical progression of Chinese sages"; Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion*, p. 75.

98 Entry from the 25th day, 6th month, 1590, *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 8, p. 319.

99 Eitoku died on the 9th day, 8th month, 1590; Tsuji Nobuo, "Hissha no mondai," in *Nanzenji Honbō*, vol. 10, *Shōhekiga zenshū*, Yamane Yūzō (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1968), pp. 107–21.

100 Entry from the 20th day, 9th month, 1590, *Haretoyo nikki*, pp. 272–73.

101 Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 1610.

102 The Chief Abbot's Quarters of Nanzenji has panel paintings in a number of rooms; I focus on only two rooms in the quarters.

103 For evidence supporting this and illustrations, see Tsuji Nobuo, "Nanzenji Honbō Ōhōjō shōhekiga no yōshiki oyobi hissha ni tsuite," *Kokka*, vol. 903 (June 1967); Yamane, *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 10, *Nanzenji Honbō*; Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 387–95.

104 For documentary evidence and stylistic analysis supporting this, see Yamane, *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 10, *Nanzenji Honbō*, pp. 45–48.

105 The brushwork used to render landscape elements here adheres to that in paintings by Eitoku, although the careful delineation of figures bears closer comparison with work created by Mitsunobu and certain other followers of Eitoku in the decade after his death. See Takeda Tsuneo, *Kano Eitoku*, trans. H. Mack Horton and Catherine Kaputa (Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., and Shibundo, 1977), p. 151.

106 The paintings that were moved to Nanzenji with the building from Go-Yōzei's palace were made in different stages as described above; some were originally painted for Go-Yōzei's palace or for Ōgimachi's retirement palace about 1590 and others were painted for Shinjōtōmon'in's residence about 1601.

107 Yamane, *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 10, *Nanzenji Honbō*, pp. 64–65.

108 The Ohiru-no-ma ("Large Daytime Chamber")—the central room at the south side of the abbot's quarters at Nanzenji—is distinguished from the Ōhiroma ("Grand Audience Hall") found in residences of warrior lords. The Ohiru-no-ma is comparable in its location to the *shitchū* (central room) of other abbot's quarters.

109 Entry from the 17th day, 2nd month, 1510, *Sanetakakō-ki*, vol. 5, p. 333; for more, see Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, p. 28.

110 There was also a court tradition of native Japanese themes pictured in large-scale painting for the court; for more see, for example, Ienaga Saburō, *Jōdai yamato-e zenshi* (Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō, 1966), pp. 92–148, 154–247, 267–301.

111 As explained by Akisato Ritō in *Miyako Rinsen meisho zue* (1799); in *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho*, vol. 9, ed. Shinshū Kyōto Sōsho Kankōkai (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976), p. 60.

112 See Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion*, pp. 106–9; Wheelwright, "A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings," pp. 88–111.

113 Hiroshi Onishi, "Chinese Lore for Japanese Spaces," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 51, no. 1 (Summer 1993), p. 46.

114 For example, the seventh story at Azuchi Castle featured paintings with Chinese sages, described by Ōta Gyūichi in *Shin chōkō-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 87–90.

115 A sculpted image of Wang Ziqiao would later be incorporated into the decorative program at the Tokugawa mausoleum at Nikkō, and in that context it has been interpreted as a symbolic reference to the virtuousness of Tokugawa rule; Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, p. 92.

116 Chino, "Tennō-no-haha no tame no kaiga: Nanzenji Ōhōjō no shōhekiga o megutte," in *Bijutsu to jenda: Hitaishō no shisen*, ed. Chino Kaori, Suzuki Tokiko, and Mabuchi Akiko (Tokyo: Bruecke, 2003), pp. 85–128.

117 Chino Kaori, "Nihon bijutsu no jendā," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 136 (1994), pp. 235–46. In English, Chino, "Gender in Japanese Art," trans. Joshua S. Mostow, *Aesthetics*, vol. 7 (1996), pp. 49–68.

118 See, for example, Nakamachi Keiko, "The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 91–92.

119 Tokugawa Ieyasu recognized this: he called on Shinjōtōmon'in to intercede when Go-Yōzei expressed his intention to abdicate in 1610.

120 For documentary evidence and stylistic analysis supporting this, see Yamane Yūzō, "Hinoki-zu byōbu," *Kokka*, vol. 778 (January 1957), p. 23; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, p. 356.

121 Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, p. 356, pl. 119; Ohta Aya, entry in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, pp. 106–7.

122 Tazawa Hiroyoshi, entries in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, p. 356; Yamamoto Hideo, "Kanō Eitoku no tōjō to sono eikyō," *Taiyō bessatsu*, vol. 145 (2007), p. 37.

123 There are also a pair of two-panel screens and a four-panel screen of flowers and plants of the four seasons in the Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan (attributed to a late sixteenth-century Kano painter) thought to derive from the palace of Toshihito; for illustration, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, pl. 117.

124 The pines were added to the Shishinden panels sometime between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," *Kokka*, vol. 1028, pp. 8–11. In the *Shin chōkō-ki*, Ōta Gyūichi describes the Pine Tree Room at Azuchi Castle; Ōta Gyūichi, *Shin chōkō-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 87–90.

125 This work—along with a two-panel screen with *Genji* scenes, apparently from the same set of panels—was handed down by Toshihito's heirs as part of the collection that later became the Katsuranomiya family collection. Tazawa, entries in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, p. 356, Ohta, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, pp. 106–7.

126 Entries from the 6th to 12th months of 1560, *Oyudonoue no nikki*, see Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Tosa Mitsunobu to Tosa-ha no keifu, Nihon no bijutsu,* no. 247 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), pp. 55–56; Saitō and Tsuji, eds., *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 19, *Kinsei kyūtei no bijutsu*, p. 203.

127 It is possible that some early surviving screens with figural painting represent scenes from the *Tale of Genji* or other related narratives, including the thirteenth-century *Landscape* screen from Jingoji, now in the Tokyo National Museum; for more, see Kobayashi Taichirō, *Yamato-e shiron* (Osaka, 1946), pp. 28-31. For representative late sixteenth-century *Genji* screens see, for example, Sakaishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Genji monogatari no kaiga* (Sakai: Sakaishi Hakubutsukan, 1986), pls. 36, 43, 56, 57.

128 *Uesugi nenpu* and *Hokuetsu gunki*; see Takeda, *Kano Eitoku*, pp. 27, 32; McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, pp. 99, 215.

129 For more, see Takagishi Akira, "Muromachi-dono emaki korekushon no keisei;" Takagishi, *Muromachi ōken to kaiga: Shoki Tosa-ha kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2004); and Takagishi, *Muromachi emaki no maryoku: Saisei to sōzō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008).

130 Imatani Akira and Kozo Yamamura, "Not for Lack of Will or Wile: Yoshimitsu's Failure to Supplant the Imperial Lineage," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 61–63.

131 See, for example, McCormick, "Genji Goes West," pp. 54–85.

132 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 185–86.

133 For more on Hideyoshi's deification, see, for example, Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, pp. 178–81.

134 Trans. Donald L. Philippi, *Kojiki* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968); see also catalogue entries 6–7 by Bruce Coats in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 71.

135 See, for example, Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, pp. 36–38.

136 See Watsky, *Chikubushima*, pp. 204–8.

137 As Andrew Watsky states, "The Toyokuni Shrine was the platform from which the Toyotomi proclaimed their continued presence as a contender for countrywide power, and this they did through monumentally conceived, gloriously executed religious ceremonies" (Watsky, *Chikubushima*, pp. 206–7).

138 *Shingō* are one of two types of inscriptions with names of deities. *Shingō* give names of Shinto divinities, while *butsugō* give names of Buddhist divinities. Jointly they are known as "*myōgō*."

139 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōdaiji no meihō: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu

Hakubutsukan, 1995), p. 140. Another *shingō* inscription with the same phrase written by Toyotomi Hideyori is preserved at Daigoji; for illustration, see Watsky, *Chikubushima*, p. 207, fig. 130. In addition, there is a wooden plaque carved with Hideyoshi's *shingō* placed near an entrance to the Toyokuni Jinja in Nagahama, near the center of the first domain held by Hideyoshi.

140 Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, p. 34.

141 To clarify, Hideyoshi apparently had no intention to use the court simply for short-term political purposes, nor was he necessarily always clear about how he could best bend the court to his own advantage. Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 126–28, 157–58.

Chapter 2

1 One author suggests that Tokugawa Ieyasu, in tandem with Konoe Sakihisa (Go-Mizunoo's maternal grandfather; 1536–1612), persuaded Go-Yōzei not to abdicate until Go-Mizunoo was older, because Ieyasu and Sakihisa were already planning for Go-Mizunoo to be named emperor and marry a Tokugawa daughter. This claim requires further documentation. Richard Ponsonby-Fane, *The Fortunes of the Emperors: Studies in Revolution, Exile, Abdication, Usurpation, and Deposition in Ancient Japan* (Washington D.C.: University Publications of America, Inc., 1979), p. 311.

2 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 93.

3 For more on *insei*, see H. Paul Varley, *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 10–11, 54–55.

4 Michael Cooper, ed., *They Came to Japan, An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1965), p. 278.

5 Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 169–70.

6 For more, see Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginning to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1998), pp. 129–31.

7 Kyoko Kinoshita, "The Advent of Movable-Type Printing: The Early Keichō Period and Kyoto Cultural Circles," in *The Arts of Hon'ami Kōetsu, Japanese Renaissance Master*, ed. Felice Fischer (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000), pp. 56–73.

8 Masamune Atsuo, ed., *Keichō nikkenroku*, in *Nihon koten zenshū* (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 1978), pp. 259–60.

9 Richard Lane, "The Beginnings of The Modern Japanese Novel: *Kana-zōshi*, 1600–1682," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3/4 (December 1957), p. 646.

10 In 722, for example, Tang Xuanzong (r. 713–755) had ordered an imperial edition of the *Xiao jing*, and in 996 Song Taizong (r. 976–997) had done the same.

11 Richard Barnhart notes, "The rightness of the preservation of imperial power is the overriding message of the Classic of Filial Piety." Barnhart, "The Classic of Filial Piety in Chinese Art History," in Barnhart, ed., *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), p. 89.

12 For more see, for example, Kinoshita, "The Advent of Movable-Type Printing," p. 57.

13 David Chibbett, *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration* (Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1977), no page # given. Volumes from the Keichō Imperial Editions are found in the Kunaichō Shoryōbu and the Yōmei Bunko in Kyoto. Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, pp. 32–33.

14 Ieyasu's press, located at Fushimi, was active from 1599 to 1606. For more, see Lane, "The Beginnings of The Modern Japanese Novel," pp. 646–47.

15 Although Ieyasu had hired Razan decades earlier as an advisor and the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, provided land in Edo for Razan to set up an academy for Confucian studies, early Tokugawa shoguns did not officially and uniquely endorse the school's teachings. Even under the fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi, the Hayashi academy was not a designated voice for the Tokugawa. For more see, for example, Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "The Persecution of Confucianism in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 48, no. 3 (Autumn 1993), pp. 293–314.

16 Hayashi Gahō (1618–1680) claimed that the imperial line had forfeited its right to rule in the early fourteenth century due to the missteps of Emperor Go-Daigo. Similarly, Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) held that emperors of the past had not fulfilled their responsibilities, and thus it was necessary for a military leader to govern the land. Bitō Masahide, "Sonnōjōi shisō," in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), p. 60.

17 Kate Wildman Nakai explains that strictly speaking, "Decline in the scope of his [a ruler's] actual power, as had occurred with the Japanese emperor, was taken to indicate that heaven found him lacking. [And]… to rule, as did the shogun, in the shadow of another without the full symbolic attributes of 'the one man' governing 'all under heaven' associated with a definitive 'change of mandate' (C: *ko-ming*; J: *kakumei*) smacked of usurpation." Nakai, "Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School, and Arai Hakuseki," in Peter Nosco, ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 70.

18 For more on the volume of *Jindai no maki* printed for Go-Yōzei in the British Museum, see "News of the Profession," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Feb. 1959), p. 316.

19 *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, <http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/category.php?categoryID=37 > accessed June 6, 2011.

20 While it is interesting to speculate how Go-Yōzei made use of these texts to carry out his functions as emperor, it is hoped that future research will shed a clearer light on this matter, as well as how the titles in Go-Yōzei's book collection compare with those of earlier text holdings in the imperial library.

21 Morigami O, "Keichō chokuhan no Chōgonka biwakō," *Tenri toshokanhan*, vol. 97 (1991), pp. 36–86.

22 Kondō Haruo, *Chōgonka biwakō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1981). Several seventeenth-century annotations to *The Song of Unending Sorrow* are known, including the *Manshuinzō Chōgon kikigaki* by Prince Yoshiyuru (1574–1643), the *Chōgonka zushō* of 1677, and the *Chōgonka shinshō* of 1689.

23 The tale recounts how Yang Guifei, young concubine of an elderly emperor, relies on his infatuation to secure numbers of official posts for members of her family, finally provoking a rebellion. The emperor is forced to flee the capital with her, and, along the way, she is executed by resentful imperial guardsmen. Grief stricken, Xuanzong consoles himself with a belief that her spirit survives on the Isle of the Immortals in the eastern seas.

24 Masako Nakagawa Graham, *The Yang Kuei-fei Legend in Japanese Literature, Japanese Studies,* vol. 6 (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellon Press, 1998), pp. 83–91.

25 Shane McCausland, "Introduction," in Shane McCausland and Matthew P. McKelway, *Chinese Romance from a Japanese Brush: Kano Sansetsu's Chōgonka Scrolls in the Chester Beatty Library* (London : Scala, 2009), p. 16.

26 Earlier, the legend of Yang Guifei was apparently understood mainly as cautionary tale in Japan; for example, Kujō Kanezane likely presented a set of now lost *Chōgonka* scrolls to retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa in 1191 to warn him against supporting a revolt. Graham, *The Yang Kuei-fei Legend*, pp. 76–77; Miyajima Shin'ichi, "Chōgonka zukan," in *Zaigai Nihon geijutsu no shūfuku* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1995), pp. 33–34. The theme seems to have attracted renewed courtier attention in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A handscroll in the Tokyo National Museum based on Bai Juyi's *The Song of Unending Sorrow* was commissioned in about 1614 by Konoe Nobuhiro (1599–1649), Go-Yōzei's son who had been adopted into the Konoe family. I thank Lee Bruschke-Johnson for alerting me to the existence of this handscroll.

27 Graham, *The Yang Kuei-fei Legend*, pp. 183–85.

28 Matthew P. McKelway describes interest in the tale of Yang Guifei in Hideyoshi's circle; McKelway, "Kano Sansetsu and Kano Workshop Paintings of 'The Song of Lasting Sorrow'," in *Chinese Romance from a Japanese Brush*, ed. McCausland and McKelway, pp. 121–23.

29 Ibid.

30 Although paintings based on the *Song of Unending Sorrow* had been created as early as the Heian period, they were newly popular. For more, see, for example, Takeda Tsuneo, "Gensō kōtei-e," *Kokka*, vol. 1049 (1982), pp. 13–25.

31 Takeda, "Gensō kōtei-e," pp. 13–25.

32 Several Kano painters of the next generation also represented the theme; for more see, for example, McKelway, "Kano Sansetsu and Kano Workshop Paintings of 'The Song of Lasting Sorrow'," pp. 106–149. The increase in such paintings was likely linked in part to pictorial models imported from China, especially those found in illustrated books. One illustrated Chinese book, the sixteenth-century *Dijian tushuo* (J: *Teikan zusetsu*), had been imported somewhat earlier and contains images of Xuanzong and other Chinese monarchs, but the early modern painters may also have seen earlier Japanese representations of this theme that no longer survive.

33 A mounted *tanzaku* with poem written by Go-Yōzei is found in the Freer and Sackler Galleries, and another in the Ruth and Sherman E. Lee Institute for Japanese Art at the Clark Center, California. For illustration of the latter, see Stephen Addiss, *77 Dances: Japanese Calligraphy by Poets, Monks, and Scholars, 1568–1868* (Boston and London: Weatherhill, 2006), p. 16.

34 For literary commentaries by Go-Yōzei, see Wada, *Kōshitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 312–22.

35 Edwin A. Cranston, "A Web in the Air," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 43, no. 3 (Autumn 1988), pp. 303–52.

36 Trans. Herbert Plutschow, *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press Ltd., 1996), p. 105.

37 Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 2.

38 For more on the rites, see Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, p. 30; Cynthea Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp. 163–80.

39 For more on poetry and expression of authority at the early court, see Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*.

40 Fujiwara Masami, "Ōkyū to sangon to," *Nanto bukkyō*, vol. 59 (1988), pp. 68–91.

41 By the seventeenth century, secret traditions had been integrated into a system known as "origin of the house" (*iemoto*). Customarily, *iemoto* heads were selected by hereditary succession, a pattern that can be traced back to the ancient clan structure in which leadership was transferred from father to eldest son or to a talented disciple adopted into the clan. For more, see P. G. O'Neill, "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1984), pp. 635–36; Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, pp. 164–70. At court, the Sanjōnishi specialized in *waka*, the Sanjō in flute playing, the Sesonji in calligraphy, and the Yamashina in costume and reed instruments, transmitting their

secrets within the family. Similarly, groups of Nō, Kyōgen, Jōruri, and other performers passed their craft to highly trained students.

42 Only a few individuals in each generation had been entrusted with knowledge of the *Kokinshū*, and of all the initiates, perhaps the most famous was the critic and poet Fujiwara no Teika. Later, two noble families traced their ancestry and their teachings on *Kokinshū* back to Teika. Each boasted that it had inherited the authentic legacy of Teika and the single accurate interpretation of the *Kokinshū*.

43 For more, see Janet Ikeda, "Memorialized in Verse: Hideyoshi's Daigo Hanami of 1598," *Oboegaki: Newsletter of the Early Modern Japan Network*, vol. 5, no. 1 (April 1995), pp. 1–6.

44 Ibid., p. 4.

45 For more, see Edward Kamens, "The Past in the Present: Fujiwara Teika and the Traditions of Japanese Poetry," in *Word in Flower*, ed. Wheelwright, p. 16.

46 Aristocratic literary specialists in earlier centuries had sometimes shared their knowledge with military leaders—as when Ichijō Kaneyoshi (Kanera; 1402–1481) presented lectures on the *Tale of Genji* to members of the Ashikaga shogunal family—that trend increased, however, over the course of the seventeenth century.

47 To take another example, Nakanoin Michimasa, who had served as a tutor of Go-Yōzei, collaborated with Hosokawa Yūsai to make the *Tales of Ise* available in print, which expanded its readership beyond the court. Michele Marra, *Representations of Power: The Literary Politics of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), p. 140.

48 Trans. John T. Carpenter, "Handwriting Empowered by History: The Aura of Calligraphy by Japanese Emperors," in *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection, Imperial Calligraphy of Premodern Japan: Scribal Conventions for Poems and Letters from the Palace*, ed. John T. Carpenter (Kyoto: Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University and Norwich: Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, 2006), p. 42. This comment is found in the memoranda (*shinkan oboegaki*) preserved in the Higashiyama Imperial Library.

49 Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 5, *Shinkan*, p. 1.

50 Carpenter, "Handwriting Empowered by History," pp. 14–54.

51 Sixteen calligraphic works by Go-Yōzei are illustrated in Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, pp. 8–12, 15–16, 24, 25 top, 25 bottom, 28, 29, 34, 38, 43, and 44. These include letters, poem pages, and hanging scrolls. Additional calligraphic works by Go-Yōzei are illustrated in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, pls. 49-51 and Suntory Bijutsukan, ed., *Tenchijin ten: Naoe Kanetsugu to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Suntory Bijutsukan, 2009), pl. 175.

52 For illustration, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, pl. 49.

53 A room on the third story of Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle had a painting of dragon-and-tiger combat, while pillars in the golden room on the sixth story had paintings of ascending-and-descending dragons; Ōta Gyūichi, *Shin chōkō-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 87–90. Images of tigers and bamboo were also found in entrance halls of temples and castles; Onishi, "Chinese Lore for Japanese Spaces," pp. 37–38. Furthermore, the Chinese character for "dragon" was appropriated by Hideyoshi and engraved on his personal seal. By impressing the seal on scribe-written documents, Hideyoshi confirmed his authorship of the document and simultaneously proclaimed his supremacy in the land.

54 Among the natural motifs in paintings at Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle were images of plum and bamboo; Ōta Gyūichi, *Shin chōkō-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 87–90.

55 In one case he wrote the four characters on a poem square; see the entry by John Carpenter in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 189. There are also several hanging scrolls with the characters for "Dragon and Tiger." One is in the Tokyo National Museum, illustrated in Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, p. 12; and another is in the Reizei collection, Kyoto, illustrated in Shiguretei Bunko and NHK, eds., *Miyako no miyabi, uta no kokoro: Reizeike no shihō ten* (Kyoto: Benridō, 1997), pl. 226.

56 For illustration, see Toyokuni Jinja, ed., *Toyotaikō botsugo yonhyaku nen kinen: Hideyoshi to Kyōto: Toyokuni jinja hōten* (Kyoto: Toyokuni Jinja, 1998), pl. 35.

57 Votive plaques with paintings of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets were dedicated at shrines and temples from the fifteenth century forward. For more on the plaques, see Tomoko Sakomura, *Pictured Words and Codified Seasons: Visualizations of Waka Poetry in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Japan* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2007), p. 226.

58 Translation by Ann Yonemura, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, p. 70.

59 Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), pp. 371–72, nn. 9, 10, and 14.

60 Entries from the 2nd–7th days, 7th month, 1601, *Tokiyoshikyō-ki*, in *Dainihon kokiroku*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980), pp. 102–8. Entries in the diary of nobleman Yamashina Tokitsune (1543–1611) also confirm this. *Tokitsunekyō-ki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959-91), vol. 2, pp. 95–96, 294–95; and vol. 12, pp. 101–4 and 302–3.

61 Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 251.

62 Carpenter, "Handwriting Empowered by History," p. 23.

63 Airing rituals were both culture-preserving and culture-producing events, as Gregory Levine has observed. Levine, *Daitokuji*, p. 226.

64 A notable example of an earlier warrior lord, who like the emperors sponsored religious events, was the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu. Prayer gatherings held on his order and imploring peace and prosperity in the land were attended by many courtiers. Imatani and Yamamura, "Not for Lack of Will or Wile," pp. 61–63.

65 For more on earlier relations between imperial and religious figures, see Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

66 Wakisaka Mitsunobu, "Rinkain enyū," *Myōshinji Rinkain ten* (Tokyo: Suntory Bijutsukan, 1982), pp. 68–70. For more on Nange and the Toyotomi, see Watsky, *Chikubushima*, pp. 133–36.

67 Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed., *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), p. 73.

68 Moreover, Go-Yōzei presents himself here as "a monarch reigning in a period that accorded the imperial family a renewed sense of self-esteem," as Julia Meech notes. Meech, in *Momoyama*, ed. Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 73.

69 Go-Yōzei shared his interest in painting with certain earlier emperors. To name one, Emperor Go-Hanazono is known to have created paintings, some of which were copies of earlier works, as described by his father Prince Sadafusa in the *Kanmon gyoki*; see Brock, "The Shogun's *Painting Match*," pp. 462, 481–82.

70 These three works have been published as paintings by the emperor. *Hawk Seizing a Pheasant* was identified by modern scholars as a work by Go-Yōzei as early as 1965, in *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen*, ed. Nezu Bijutsukan, p. 5. *Sparrows in Bamboo* was also identified as a work by Go-Yōzei in the catalogue, *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, ed. Kasumi Kaikan, pp. 13–14.

71 Hōrin, who kept the *Kakumei-ki* from 1635 to 1668, was the aristocratic abbot of Rokuonji in Kyoto and attended many gatherings in the ancient capital, which allowed him to gather extensive information about elite cultural circles of Kyoto. Hōrin mentions a Go-Yōzei painting of cranes in an entry from the 4th day, 8th month, 1638, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, p. 112.

72 Sakazaki Tan, ed., *Nihon kaigaron taikan*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Meichō Fukyūkai, 1979–1980), p. 357.

73 Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 11.

74 Ibid., p. 938.

75 Kawai Masatomo, ed., *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū,* vol. 11, *Yūshō/Tōgan* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), p. 203.

76 Entry from the 23rd day, 7th month, 1613, *Tokiokyō-ki*, vol. 1, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959-1998), p. 202. For more, see Namiki Seishi, "Oshi-e bari byōbu shiron," *Kinshachihoko soshō*, vol. 10 (1987), p. 477.

77 If so, there would have been enough panels by Yūshō at the imperial palace to yield six pairs of six-panel screens. Kawai, ed., *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū*, vol. 11, *Yūshō/Tōgan*, p. 110.

78 Toshihito mentions in a diary entry that he had summoned Yūshō to his residence and had asked him to produce *oshi-e* panels. Entry from the 5th day, 11th month, 1602, *Toshihito shinnō gyoki*; see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, p. 356. Yūshō also painted a group of folding screens for Toshihito, believed to have been passed down by later generations of his family. These include the 1602 screen with *Landscape* (*Sanzui-zu byōbu*) in the Tokyo National Museum, along with the two pairs of screens in the Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan: screens of *Beach with Pines* (*Hamamatsu-zu byōbu*), recently dated following conservation to 1605, and screens with *Drying Fishing Nets* (*Aboshi-zu byōbu*). For illustrations, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kōshitsu no meihō: Bi to dentō no seika*, pls. 120, 121, and 122.

79 Entries from the 29th day, 12th month, 1599 and 21st day, 12th month, 1600, *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 9, pp. 128, 185.

80 Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 199.

81 Several centuries earlier, painters from a number of families—including the Fujiwara, Rokkaku, and Tosa clans—were appointed director of the bureau of painting, but from the late fifteenth century for several decades, members of the Tosa school predominated in the post. Takeda posits that Takanobu was the first Kano *edokoro azukari*; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, p. 100. Ozaki Yoshiyuki similarly suggests that Takanobu was named *edokoro azukari*; Ozaki, "Kanō-ha to kuge shakai: Shijisō kakudai e mukete," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei Tamehito, Oka Yoshiko, and Iwama Kaori (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1998), pp. 52–53. Miyajima denies the certainty of this conclusion; Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, pp. 198–99.

82 Kanō Einō, *Honchō gashi*, in *Nihon kaigaron taikan* 2, ed. Sakazaki, p. 412.

83 Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 200.

84 See the entries from the 29th day, 12th month, 1599 and the 21st day, 12th month, 1600, *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 9, pp. 128, 185. According to Takeda, Takanobu amended painting of the Kurodo panels in 1596; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, p. 439.

85 Not all of the work assigned to Takanobu's hand follows time-honored court themes. For example, the pair of six-panel screens with *Scenes in and around the Capital* in the Fukuoka City Museum, which are attributed to Takanobu based on style, take a different theme.

Okudaira Shunoku, in *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, Miyeko Murase and Mutsuko Amemiya (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 222–27.

86 See, for example, the entries from the 11th day, 1st month, 1494 and the 6th day, 1st month, 1495, *Oyudo-nonoue no nikki*, vol. 2, pp. 355, 410; and the entry from the 12th day, 8th month, 1529, *Sanetakakō-ki*, vol. 8, p. 19.

87 John Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice," p. 81.

88 There is another *Portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei* that survives, located at Rozanji, and it is so similar as to seem a probable copy of the Sennyūji portrait. For illustration, see Kasumi Kaikan, ed., *Go-Yōzei tennō to sono jidai*, p. 7.

89 At the left side of the painting a tall rectangular seal reads "Kano" and a second seal reads "Takanobu." The portrait apparently has been housed at the temple since the early seventeenth century, although no documents survive to indicate its date of creation, or who commissioned it. Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," pp. 9–34, Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 103–5, and Hickman, ed., *Japan's Golden Age*, p. 84.

90 For more, see McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*, p. 97.

91 The remains of deceased emperors had been interred at Sennyūji since the death of Emperor Shijō in 1242. In early centuries, Sennyūji had been affiliated with several sects, but it was later associated exclusively with the Shingon sect.

92 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō: Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 10, pp. 517–18.

93 Christine Guth explicates the relationship of portraits and mortuary practice at religious institutions; Guth, "Portraiture," in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 59.

94 For centuries emperors had been granting the title of shogun to a leading warrior, but the significance had changed over time. In the Heian period emperors conferred the title on a nobleman appointed to defend the imperial household. Later, in the Kamakura period—when emperors gave the title to a succession of leaders of the Minamoto clan—the shogun had been responsible, at least in theory, for overseeing the entire military and maintaining peace in the land. This continued into the Muromachi period, but with the title of shogun going to the leader of the Ashikaga family, who claimed descent from the Minamoto. During the late Muromachi period, power was often in the hands of a shogunal administrator (*kanrei*), with the young Ashikaga heir occupying the shogunal position. The powerful political profile of the early Edo shoguns was quite different from that of their immediate predecessors, the Ashikaga shoguns of the mid-sixteenth century.

95 Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 152.

96 One of the many indications that the Tokugawa were interested in appeasing people in the ancient capital is the ordinance they issued in 1604 while Ieyasu was shogun, releasing residents of western Kyoto from land taxes. This was actually the reissuance of an edict Hideyoshi had enacted in 1592. Entry from the 20th day, 12th month, 1604, *Kitano monjo*; see Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō: Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 3, p. 430.

97 Butler reevaluates Ieyasu's restrictions on the court, developing a convincing argument that there were more struggles within the court than between Ieyasu and the court. Butler describes Ieyasu as being preoccupied with challenges posed by warriors and as paternalistic but rigorous toward the court. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulations for the Court: A Reappraisal," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 54, no. 2 (December 1994), pp. 509–51.

98 Ryōjun was the eighth son of Emperor Go-Yōzei. Later, Ieyasu arranged for Ryōjun to retire and become abbot of Chion'in in Kyoto.

99 In 1604 Ieyasu proclaimed that the bakufu would henceforth take the initiative in recommending warriors for court rank, and two years later the Edo government ordered that warriors be granted court rank only by bakufu petition. After this, the bakufu went even further in limiting the emperor's ability to bring warriors under court authority, requiring that the names of warriors be removed from court rosters, thus separating warriors from aristocrats.

100 See the diaries of Nishinotōin Tokiyoshi (1552–1640) and Funabashi Hidekata (1575–1614). *Tokiyoshikyō-ki*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 295–96; and Masamune, ed., *Keichō nikkenroku*, p. 40.

101 See, for example, the entry from 1612 in the *Tokiokyō-ki*, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995-98), p. 139. Kabuki—which takes its name from the verb *kabuku*, meaning "to lean or incline"—had developed from dances performed by women associated with Shinto shrines. Okuni, the woman credited with originating Kabuki, had supposedly served as a priestess of Izumo Grand Shrine and had organized a troop of female shrine dancers. Comments on Okuni's appearance in an anonymous contemporary document, the *Tōdai-ki* (Records of These Days), suggests that Okuni's popularity stemmed in part from her transgression of gender and social codes. *Tōdai-ki*, entries from 1603 and 1606, *Shiseki zassan*, vol. 2, ed. Hayakawa, p. 95, and Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 395. For more on images of Kabuki, see Takeda Tsuneo, *Kinsei shoki fūzokuga, Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 20 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1967), pp. 56–57.

102 Both *rōnin* and *kabukimono* were in the spirit of the pre-

vious century, a time of social reversal in which those of low standing could flout the authority of those on high. In 1609, after bands of young brawlers had many times disturbed the peace of the ancient capital, the governing magistrate (*shoshidai*) of Kyoto, Itakura Katsushige (1542–1624), called for their arrest and issued orders to curb any further outbreaks of lawlessness, which were only partially effective. For more see, for example, *Tōdai-ki*, entry from 1606; see Kumakura, *Kan'ei bunka no kenkyū*, p. 21.

103 For more, see Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 184–88.

104 *Kyōgō zakki, Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 6, no. 12, pp. 728–29.

105 For reference to the scandal in court annals, see entries from the 4th day, 7th month; 4th day, 8th month; and 1st day, 10th month, 1609, *Oyudonoue no nikki*, vol. 9, pp. 433, 437–38, and 466.

106 For more on the scandal, see Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 170–90.

107 Lee Butler explains, "Often spoken of as the 'Peace of Engi and Tenryaku,' this era saw the reassertion of the emperor in relation to the Fujiwara, the enactment of new laws and successful prohibitions against private estates, and the production of impressive cultural works, including the *Kokinshū* poetry anthology. The 'model of Engi' was thus a reflection of Go-Yōzei's grand hope of restoring direct imperial rule in an era of cultural and economic richness." Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 194.

108 Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, cat. entry 18, pp. 124–26.

109 Entry by Bruce A. Coats in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 78.

110 Go-Mizunoo was entering maturity, and his only surviving older brother, Kakujin, had moved to an imperial temple or *monzeki* and had become a priest at Ninnaji in 1597. See also Shi, "Edo shoki no jōi mondai to tennō no seijiteki ichi no kōzō," pp. 1–18.

111 Go-Mizunoo's name appears frequently in entries that Nobutada recorded in his diary, the *Sanmyakuin-ki*, from 1601 to 1606, indicating that the two spent considerable time together, sharing cultural interests. For instance, Nobutada tells of performing Nō with the crown prince; entry from the 27th day, 3rd month, 1606, *Sanmyakuin-ki*, in *Shiryō sanshū*, vol. 10, ed. Ōta Zen (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1975), p. 114. See also Lee Bruschke-Johnson, *The Calligrapher Konoe Nobutada: Reassessing the Influence of Aristocrats on the Art and Politics of Early Seventeenth-Century Japan* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Leiden, 2002), p. 55, n. 187.

112 A capping ceremony was usually held for boys in their teen years, and, when the boy in question was an emperor or a crown prince, a leading male aristocrat served as capper. Go-Mizunoo was fifteen when his capping ceremony occurred, and Nobutada was already the head of the Konoe family. A description and diagram of the ceremony are found in Nobutada's diary, the *Sanmyakuin-ki*, pp. 211–14.

113 For more, see Miyajima, "Emperors as Artists and Cultural Leaders," in *Essays: Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, pp. 12–16; Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, pp. 50–54.

114 Several scholars, including Takeda Tsuneo and Nakamachi Keiko, have observed the importance of Go-Shirakawa as a role model for early modern emperors; see Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, pp. 18–19; Nakamachi, *Fūzokuga: Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., p. 95.

Chapter 3

1 The Tokugawa may not have established a nation-state, at least in the modern sense, but without question they did establish the most powerful national government that Japan had seen to date. See, for example, Berry, "Public Peace and Private Attachment: The Goals and Conduct of Power in Early Modern Japan," p. 255.

2 The Japanese had adopted a Chinese formulation of imperial responsibility—and also authority—to promulgate the calendar and proclaim era-names.

3 Trans. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulations for the Court," pp. 532–33.

4 Ibid.

5 Butler convincingly argues that Ieyasu did not intend to dominate the court by means of the Regulations nor to isolate the monarch; instead, he bolstered court claims of political importance. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulations for the Court," pp. 536–37, 549.

6 Oribe had succeeded Sen no Rikyū as pre-eminent tea master in the realm and bridged the worlds of tea aesthetics and warrior politics. Oribe inherited from Rikyū a tendency to mirror the anti-authoritarian spirit prevalent in the *Sengoku jidai*. Kuwata Tadachika, *Furuta Oribe* (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1968); Murase and Amemiya, *Turning Point*, pp. 3–15.

7 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 178–82.

8 Referred to as the *Keichōdō gozōei dairi onsashi-zu* (Instructions Regarding Palace Construction of the Keichō Era), the plan is now held by the Imperial Household Agency. The plan, which is large and detailed, does not reproduce well in small scale; a diagram (fig. 29) is thus shown in its place. For illustration of the original plan, see Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pl. 4.

9 The arrangement of palace buildings constructed a few decades earlier had the Tsunegoten joined with the Seiryōden. In the Keichō Palace, however, they were two separate though proximal buildings, with the Tsunegoten standing near the center of the *dairi*.

10 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 178–86.

11 Ninnaji was built on the order of Emperor Kōkō, who abdicated in 887 and devoted himself to Buddhism, living at the temple.

12 Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," pp. 9–28.

13 Physical investigation conducted during repairs to the roof of the Ninnaji Founder's Portrait Hall in the 1950s found original inscriptions on the wooden members, reading "from the Seiryōden of the palace." For more on the Ninnaji reconstruction, see Yamamoto Kenkichi and Mori Taien, *Koji junrei, Kyōto*, vol. 11, *Ninnaji* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1977), p. 90.

14 The timing suggests that buildings from the Keichō Palace had been integrated into the palace of Empress Meishō, and were later removed from *dairi* grounds. The reconstruction of Ninnaji was completed and celebrated at a memorial service in 1646. Yamamoto and Mori, *Koji junrei, Kyōto*, vol. 11, *Ninnaji*, p. 90. Yet another record, the *Ninnaji monzekishi* (History of the Imperial Temple of Ninnaji), relates that the imperial household donated additional buildings from the Keichō Palace to the temple, including two gate structures. *Ninnaji monzekishi*; see Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 26. Specifically, the Main Temple Gate (Sammon) and the Middle Gate (Chūmon), along with the Five-Storied Pagoda (Gojū-no-tō) of Ninnaji, may derive from the palace.

15 Some historians credit the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, with launching the reconstruction of Ninnaji in 1634 when he visited Kyoto. Yamamoto and Mori, *Koji junrei, Kyōto*, vol. 11, *Ninnaji*, p. 90. Other historians credit the imperial family with the initiative; one source suggests that Tōfukumon'in played a role in donating buildings. Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1968–1976), pp. 8, 193.

16 At some point, the paintings were removed from their wooden panels and preserved separately. They were probably removed from the buildings and kept in storage at the temple, where they are found today. This would explain their excellent state of preservation. It is not known whether the Shishinden panels were installed in the building when it first served as the Golden Hall of Ninnaji, but the thematic content of these paintings would have made them inappropriate ornament here.

17 Entries from the 16th day, 5th month and 12th day, 7th month,1614, in the *Tokiyoshikyō-ki*; see Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 200.

18 The 1613 *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe* refers to paintings of Thirty-two Chinese Sages by Takanobu. Fujioka mistakenly claims this information derived from another record, the *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* (Diagram of the Second Princess' Quarters); see Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 179–85. Other scholars refer to this information as deriving from the *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe*; see, for example, Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 101–103, 440.

19 We learn from several entries in the *Oyudononoue no nikki* that Kano Motonobu painted panels for the Kogosho of the palace (see the entry dated to the 19th day, 6th month, 1543); Motonobu is again mentioned in an entry from the 27th day, 1st month, 1553; *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 5, p. 214. Unnamed Kano artists painted panels for the Kirokujo of the palace in 1546; see the entry from the 27th day, 4th month, 1546, *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 5, p. 12; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 437. After about 1590—when Eitoku created panels for the retirement palace of Ōgimachi—Kano artists seem to have worked frequently at the *dairi*; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 439–41.

20 Miyajima Shin'ichi sees the Kano atelier as exercising jurisdiction over the court *edokoro* after the death of Tosa Mitsumoto in 1569; Miyajima also provides documentary evidence that might be read as proof that Eitoku was named head of the *edokoro* and dominated painting circles at court in the 1580s. Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, pp. 192, 198.

21 Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," p. 1.

22 Wheelwright, "A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle," p. 109. As John Rosenfield qualifies, these Chinese sages symbolized civic virtues but, strictly speaking, the Japanese monarch inherited rulership by inheritance not by the Mandate of Heaven as in China; Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, pp. 45–47.

23 Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, pp. 35–71.

24 Kano painters who contributed to the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century boom in portrayals of Chinese figures were certainly responding in part to the printed illustrated books that were newly introduced from China and Korea. They were also encountering panel paintings of Chinese figural themes at the imperial palace, where certain members of their workshop were active, especially from the 1580s on. Palace paintings presumably influenced the repertory of Kano themes, but with a minimum of surviving examples it is difficult to prove this point.

25 Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," pp. 8–11.

26 Scholars note stylistic similarities, for example, between the painting of the sages and another work by Takanobu, the portrait of Emperor Go-Yōzei preserved at Sennyūji (fig. 28); they see a comparable manner of rendering facial features and creating effects of shading in the two works. See, among others, Doi Tsugiyoshi, *Momoyama Decorative Painting*, trans. Edna B. Crawford (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1977), p. 153. For more on Takanobu's style of painting,

see Ozaki Yoshiyuki, “Kanō Takanobu no sakufū ni tsuite,” *Bijutsushi*, vol. 128, no. 2 (1990), pp. 143–48.

27 For more see Chapter 1.

28 As Gerhart argues, Tan’yū’s paintings of imposing pines—created just before Go-Mizunoo’s Nijō Castle visit and displayed in the shogun’s audience hall—can be understood as symbols manipulated to achieve political acceptance for the Tokugawa; Gerhart, *Eyes of Power*, pp. 24–31.

29 Sets of Shishinden panels were painted later, as well. In fact, a new set was painted with all but one of the nine rounds of reconstruction at the palace between the late sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century.

30 This is found in the fourth scene in the fourth polychrome scroll from the Sumiyoshi copy; the scene represents the “Archery Demonstration” (*noriyumi*), held in the first month.

31 The Sumiyoshi copy does have a detail of two sculptures of seated animals—presumably a Chinese lion and a shrine guardian dog—flanking the *takamikura*. Paintings of the two fantastical creatures may not have accompanied the Chinese Sages in Shishinden panels in the twelfth century, but they were likely added within a few centuries. The pines, however, were added even later. Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, “Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū,” pp. 8–15. As for the Chinese lion and shrine guardian dog, pairs of sculpted fantastical creatures of this type had served from an early date as guardians at Shinto shrine gates and presumably at the palace. Incidentally, a surviving ceramic figure of a Chinese lion is thought to survive from the 1590 palace; for illustration, see Narazaki Akira, “Chōjirōsaku karashishi,” *Seto-shi rizō bunkazai senta kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 13 (2006), pl. 1.

32 For full illustration, see Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Tokubetsuten gyōji-e*, pp. 25–26, pl. 13. There are several differences between these two scenes of the Shishinden interior, indicating that the painters may have followed the same model, but made minor changes.

33 Ibid., p. 158.

34 Authors of the 1988 catalogue of Ninnaji treasures exhibited at the Kyoto National Museum assign these panels to the Keichō Palace of Go-Mizunoo; see Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Ninnaji no meihō* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1988). In 1995 Takeda Tsuneo concurred; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 102–3. Other authors have since followed suit. See, for example, Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Ōgon no toki, Yume no jidai*, p. 329.

35 Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 102–3; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Ōgon no toki, Yume no jidai*, p. 329.

36 In the ninth century, during the reign of Emperor Saga, panels in the Seiryōden showed figures in a Chinese-style landscape, which became the subject of a poem by Saga with poetic responses by three courtiers recorded in the third imperial anthology of verse, the *Keikokushū*. Alexander Soper, “A Ninth Century Landscape Painting in the Japanese Imperial Palace and Some Chinese Parallels,” *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 29, no. 4 (1967), p. 347.

37 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 185–86.

38 For example, in entries from the 14th day, 10th month, 1611 and the 1st day, 8th month, 1613, Sūden mentions fans painted by “Kano Ukon” or Takanobu; see Sūden, *Honkō kokushi nikki*, in Ōta Zen, ed., vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1971); for more on these and other records on Takanobu in the *Honkō kokushi nikki*, see Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 200.

39 Sasaki Jōhei, “The Era of the Kano School,” *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1984), pp. 650–51.

40 Entry from the 25th day, 6th month, 1590, *Oyudonoue no nikki*, vol. 8, p. 319.

41 Doi suggests that themes of painting “were chosen according to the request of the client and the specific circumstances;” he provides no specific support for this claim, however. Doi, *Momoyama Decorative Painting*, p. 32.

42 For more see, for example, Harold Bolitho, *Treasures among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 11–12.

43 On the 21st day, 2nd month, 1617, messengers sent by the emperor to Kunōzan granted Ieyasu’s spirit the status of *daigongen*; see *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 120–23.

44 As Sugahara Shinkai explains, it was the doctrine of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto that provided an ideology allowing for Ieyasu to be deified, elevated to imperial rank, and legitimized as founder of the ruling warrior regime. Sugahara, “The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23 (1/2) (Spring, 1996), pp. 61–84.

45 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan’ei no hana*, p. 50. Although this inscription is usually identified as by Go-Mizunoo, the possibility exists that it was actually by another hand, presumably a ranking courtier. I would like to thank John Carpenter for alerting me to this possibility.

46 It is commonly held that Ieyasu ordered the destruction of Hōkoku Reibyō following the Tokugawa triumph at Sekigahara, but Ieyasu may have delayed this decision, and advisors may have encouraged him to raze the shrine later. According to one scholar, the bakufu turned to Go-Mizunoo for approval to destroy the shrine, but the emperor rejected the idea. Kita, *The Last Tosa*, p. 181; see also Lee Butler, “Court and Bakufu in Early 17th-Century Japan” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1991), p. 41.

47 Go-Mizunoo also wrote a *shingō* inscription for Tamazushima Shrine in Kyoto, a hanging scroll today found in the Reizei family collection, Kyoto. For illustration, see Shiguretei Bunko and NHK, eds., *Miyako no miyabi,*

uta no kokoro: Reizeike no shihō ten (Kyoto: Benridō, 1997), pl. 169.

48 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 54.

49 The text was composed by Nankōbō Tenkai (1536?–1643). For more, see Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Tōshōsha engi,* vol. 8, *Zokuzoku Nihon emaki taisei: Denki, engihen* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1994); Sugahara, "The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto," pp. 70–74; Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, pp. 107–40.

50 Komatsu, ed., *Tōshōsha engi*, pp. 175–76; Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, pp. 112.

51 For illustration of the *Origins of the Tōshō Shrine*, see Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Tōshōsha engi*. According to Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Gahō (1618–1680), Tanyū's work on the scrolls was highly appreciated and earned him the title of "Eye of the Law" (*hōgen*), a claim which has been questioned; Sugahara, "The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto," p. 71.

52 For more on earlier projects in which emperors and ranking aristocrats had written handscroll texts, some of which concerned religious subjects such as the lives of saints and the founding of temples and shrines, see for example Brock, "The Shogun's *Painting Match*," pp. 470–75.

53 One set was completed in 1634 for Asama Shrine in Shizuoka; the other, completed in 1640, was for Senba Tōshōgū in Kawagoe. Bruschke-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils*, p. 135.

Chapter 4

1 For more, see Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 77–89.

2 For further discussion of the emperor's sacerdotal functions, see among others Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution*, pp. 14–20.

3 Okada Shōji, *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, <http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=742> accessed June 6, 2011.

4 *Engi shiki*, vol. 26, *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, comp. Kuroita Katsumi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1937); see also Felicia Gressit Bock, trans., *Engi Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970–1972). By the twelfth century, the rites had mushroomed to some three hundred in number and had transformed into a nearly continuous sequence superintended by the monarch, who took a primary role in many services. In the following centuries, however, the number dropped off dramatically, reduced almost by half.

5 For more on the *nenjū gyōji* screen, see Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 6, p. 209.

6 In the Heian period, the emperor conducted many rites in the Chūwain (Hall of Central Harmony), just west of the imperial residence within the larger palace precinct (*daidairi*). The emperor oversaw other ceremonies in adjacent structures, where he again acted as an intercessor with native gods and imported buddhas for the sake of the populace.

7 Go-Mizunoo, *Tōji nenjū gyōji*, in *Shinchū kōgaku sōsho*, ed. Mozume, vol. 5, p. 31.

8 Komatsu Shigemi, "Ōchō emaki to Go-Shirakawa'in," in *Nihon emaki taisei*, vol. 1, *Genji monogatari emaki*, *Nezame monogatari emaki*, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977), pp. 118–19. The first *Handscrolls of Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court* had calligraphy attributed to the nobleman Fujiwara Norinaga (1109–1180) and painting attributed to the court painter Tokiwa no Mitsunaga (act. late 12th c.). An early record of production of this set is found in the mid-thirteenth century *Kokon chomonjū*. At a later date—exactly when is uncertain—the set was moved to the *dairi*. Tachibana Narisue, *Kokon chomonjū*, entry 397, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, ed. Nagazumi and Shimada, vol. 84, p. 317; see also Dykstra, "Notable Tales Old and New," pp. 477–93. There were other early emperors interested in illustrations of annual events, including Emperor Go-Hanazono who shared *nenjū gyōji* images with his father, Prince Sadafusa, as described in Sadafusa's diary, the *Kanmon gyoki*; see Brock, "The Shogun's 'Painting Match'," pp. 451, 460.

9 Based on a comment in the *Koga bikō*, it is widely held that the original twelfth-century set was much larger, possibly numbering as many as sixty scrolls; by the mid-seventeenth century only fifteen scrolls remained in the palace collection. *Nihon no emaki*, vol. 8, *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), p. 121. The Sumiyoshi copy, however, consists of sixteen handscrolls, suggesting that the Sumiyoshi painters altered the placement of scenes within the set, resulting in one additional handscroll. (There were also three related scrolls appended to these.)

10 Komatsu, ed., *Nihon emaki taisei*, vol. 8, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, p. 109.

11 A number of such works survive in small and large formats; one is a pair of screens of *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court* (*Nenjū gyōji-zu byōbu*) in the Sen Sōshitsu collection of Kyoto, which focuses on the ritual of "Lesser Obeisance" (*kochōhai*) with aristocrats assembling on New Year's morning to pay their respects to the emperor. For illustration, see William Watson, ed., *The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period, 1600–1868* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1981), pp. 56–57, cat. 17.

12 Yoneyama Toshinao, *Gionsai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1974); Neil McMullin, "On Placating the Gods and Pacifying the Populace: The Case of the Gion Goryō Cult," *History of Religions*, vol. 27, no. 3 (February 1988), pp. 270–93.

13 Go-Mizunoo, *Tōji nenjū gyōji*, in *Shinchū kōgaku sōsho*, ed. Mozume, vol. 5, pp. 1–2.

14 Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 21; Sakai Nobuhiko, "Go-Mizunoo'in Tōji nenjū gyōji no seikaku to mokutei," *Tōkyō Daigaku shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 7 (March 1997), pp. 49–63.

15 For more on Tokugawa reliance upon ritual for legitimation, see Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, p. 185.

16 Shingon (C: Zhenyan) is also known as "right-handed Tantrism."

17 As Fabio Rambelli indicates, this is a widely held notion although there is no textual proof of it; Rambelli, "The Emperor's New Robes: Processes of Resignification in Shingon Imperial Rituals," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 13, no. 13 (2003), p. 429.

18 Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, p. 347.

19 Kūkai is thought to have lobbied for the construction of the Shingon'in, the first permanent Buddhist hall on palace grounds, and in 835 conducted the first *mishuhō* at the Shingon'in.

20 For illustration, see *Nihon no emaki*, vol. 8, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*, pp. 34–39.

21 For more on the sutra and its relation to art, see Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998), pp. 170–77.

22 Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 98.

23 Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 349–55.

24 Wish-granting jewels were understood in Esoteric teaching as transformed Buddha relics. According to Brian D. Ruppert, each jewel "reputedly spews forth treasures, clothing, food, and other objects in accordance with the wishes of its possessor." Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2000), p. 363. For more on Kūkai, relics, and esoteric art, see Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, pp. 185–191.

25 This record was composed by Kanjin (1084–1153) about 1142. *Eiji ninen Shingon'in mishuhō-ki*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 25B, ed. Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1957–1959), pp. 110–68.

26 This later reproduction of the handscrolls of *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court*, found in the collection of the Tokyo University of the Arts, has fifteen scrolls with scenes close to those in the Sumiyoshi copy. It was produced by Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki (1755-1811), a member of the Sumiyoshi school in Edo. Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Gyōji-e: Shiki no irodori* (Osaka: Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, 2002), p. 150.

27 Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, p. 262.

28 Trans. Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, p. 352. Presumably monks revived this recitation and ritual sequence in the early Edo period.

29 The ceremony was discontinued from 1455 until its revival by Gien; the phase of discontinuation also saw Tōji experiencing decreased significance. Rambelli, "The Emperor's New Robes," pp. 442–43.

30 Go-Mizunoo, like numerous emperors of the past, recognized the value of Kūkai's contributions to imperial sanctification. He expressed his appreciation in various ways; for one, he created a *myōgō* in honor of Kūkai. Carpenter, "Handwriting Empowered by History," p. 54, nn. 110.

31 Gien, *Gien jugō nikki*, 4 vols., in *Shiryō sanshū*, ed. Ōta Zen (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2006).

32 Gien's 1622 petition for the ceremony, submitted to Go-Mizunoo, is found in his *Goshichinichi mishuhō saikō-ki*, preserved at Sanbōin at Daigoji; see Rambelli, "The Emperor's New Robes," p. 443, n. 55.

33 For more, see Patricia J. Graham, *Faith and Power in Japanese Buddhist Art, 1600-2005* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 45–48.

34 For more on the "Dharma Emperor," see Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, p. 16.

35 Although restricting some Buddhist sects, Ieyasu made conciliatory gestures toward a number of Kyoto temples; Butler, *Court and Bakufu in Early 17th- Century Japan*, pp. 39–42. In fact, the Tokugawa decided to make Buddhism their state religion, in the words of Beatrice Bodart-Bailey; Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun: The Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 52.

36 Sugahara, "The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto," p. 74.

37 Although further documentation is needed to clarify the claim, one scholar maintains that Tenkai proposed in 1615 that the emperor and his court be relocated to Ise, where they would serve a uniquely religious role as members of the Shinto priesthood. Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, p. 171.

38 John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600–1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1997), pp. 5–6; Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "The Emperor of Japan as Deity (Kami)," *Ethnology*, vol. 30, no. 2 (July 1991), pp. 199–215.

39 *Engi shiki*, vol. 26, *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, p. 179.

40 Okada Seishi, "Daiō shūnin girei no genkei to sono tenkai," in *Tennō daigawari gishiki no rekishiteki tenkai*, ed. Iwai Tadakuma and Okada Seishi (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1989), pp. 16–20.

41 Herbert Plutschow explains that "The recent belief that emperors are permanently divine is a misconception,

reached probably because their ritual schedule was so full and because they had to live during most of their reigns in a ritually pure environment;" Plutschow, *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan* (Avon: England Japan Library, 1996), pp. 13, 116. Ben-Ami Shillony states: "The emperors prayed to the gods on behalf of the people, but the people did not pray to them. The souls of dead emperors were worshipped, but so were the souls of other persons. The role of the emperors was to worship the gods, not to be worshiped by the people"; Shillony, *Enigma of the Emperors: Sacred Subservience in Japanese History* (Folkestone, U.K.: Global Oriental, Ltd., 2005), p. 17.

42 Kuroda Toshio, "The Discourse on the 'Land of the Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness," trans. Fabio Rambelli, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3/4 (1996), pp. 372–73. The "land of the *kami*" ideology advances a notion of imperial rule as a native religious tradition, and it points to an ideal, which can be traced back to early Buddhist law, of universal order founded on imperial law.

43 H. Paul Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinnō Shōtōki of Kitabatake Chikafusa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

44 Kuroda, "The Discourse on the 'Land of the Kami' (Shinkoku) in Medieval Japan," p. 375.

45 For more see, for example, Russell Kirkland, "The Sun and the Throne: The Origins of the Royal Descent Myth in Ancient Japan," *Numen*, vol. 44, no. 2 (May 1977), pp. 116–21.

46 Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, p. 365.

47 Matsumoto Ikuyo, *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2005), pp. 68, 80; see also Carpenter, "Handwriting Empowered by History," p. 32. The Buddhist enthronement initiation (*sokui kanjō*) was said to transform the imperial person into a manifestation of Dainichi. Rambelli, "The Emperor's New Robes," p. 431.

48 For more on fund-raising nuns, see Barbara Ruch, "Woman to Woman: *Kumano bikuni* Proselytizers in Medieval and Early Modern Japan," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), pp. 537–80; Ikumi Kamanishi, *Explaining Pictures: Buddhist Propoganda and Etoki Storytelling in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), pp. 137–40.

49 For more on Keikōin, see Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, "Buddhist Convents in Medieval Japan," *Engendering Faith*, Ruch, pp. 150–51.

50 A letter Go-Mizunoo sent Shūtei Shōnin is preserved at the Jingū Chokōkan in Mie; Kanagawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 12.

51 Honda Keiko, "Go-Mizunoo tennō no kinchū gogakumonkō," *Shoryōbu kiyō*, vol. 29 (1977), pp. 20–36.

52 To cite one indication of this, there is the *Uta-awase-ki*, a manuscript documenting poetry matches hosted by Go-Mizunoo in the Kan'ei era; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pl. 111, p. 127.

53 I thank John Carpenter for his translation of this poem. See also Yonemura, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, p. 74. The scroll was formerly in the Katsuranomiya collection.

54 The letter is in the Imperial Household Collection; for illustration, see Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 5, *Shinkan*, pl. 55.

55 Although the poem is undated, Moritoku Hirabayashi concludes that Go-Mizunoo composed it to express appreciation at being chosen to receive *Kokin denju*. Hirabayashi, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, p. 74.

56 Suzuki Ken'ichi, ed., *Go-Mizunoo'in gyoshū*, in *Waka bungaku taikei*, vol. 68, ed. Kubota Jun (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2003).

57 For illustration, see Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 5, *Shinkan*, pls. 53–54.

58 Shimazu Tadao and Tanaka Takahiro, eds., *Go-Mizunoo tennō Hyakunin isshu shō* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1994).

59 Despite all of this, some scholars see Go-Mizunoo's reign as the beginning of the end for imperial poetry. Modern scholarly assessment often asserts that seventeenth-century *waka* is uninspired, stifled by an excessive adherence to tradition. Admittedly, there were no new standards for *waka* being established by imperially commissioned anthologies (*chokusenshū*)—that tradition had ended in 1439 with the *Shinshoku kokinshū* (New Collection of the Poems of Ancient and Modern Times)—but there were other factors ensuring the centrality of *waka* to court poetic practice. Go-Mizunoo and members of his court, enthusiastically studying and practicing *waka* composition, did not simply cling to archaic modes.

60 Trans. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulations for the Court," pp. 532–33.

61 Chibbett, *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration*, n.p.

62 Michele Marra, *Modern Japanese Aesthetics: A Reader* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), p. 18.

63 See, for example, the entry from the 18th day, 12th month, 1613, *Tōdai-ki*, p. 194.

64 Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 21.

65 Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, p. 130.

66 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pl. 14; Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 52.

67 For more, see Edward Kamens, "The Past in the

Present: Fujiwara Teika and the Traditions of Japanese Poetry," in *Word in Flower*, ed. Wheelwright, pp. 16–31.

68 *Konoe-ke denrai kokuhō ōtekagami* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1971), p. 15.

69 For more, see Bruschke-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils*, p. 70.

70 For illustration, see Nezu Bijutsukan, ed., *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen*, p. 34; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 156–57.

71 Go-Mizunoo, *Shinkai gokyōkun sho*, in *Rekidai shōchoku zenshū*, vol. 4, ed. Miura Tōsaku (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1941), pp. 198–99; Wakabayashi, trans., "In Name Only," p. 29.

72 Lee Butler clarifies that the *dairi* "moved from a central position in the political affairs of Japan in the first two decades of the [seventeenth] century to a peripheral one by 1635." Butler, *Court and Bakufu in Early 17th-Century Japan*, p. 4.

73 For more, see Nomura, "Kan'ei-ki ni okeru Go-Mizunoo tennō no sejiteki ichi," pp. 29–53.

Chapter 5

1 Toyotomi construction in Kyoto included Kitano Tenmangū, Daigoji Golden Hall, and the Hōkoku Reibyō. For more, see Watsky, *Chikubushima*, pp. 98–100, 216–19.

2 On the 30th day, 2nd month of 1620, a horrific fire broke out in Kyoto, as recorded by the aristocrat Tsuchimikado Yasushige (1615–1643) and numerous other diary writers. *Yasushigekyō-ki*, in *Shiryō sōran*, vol. 2, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 1953–1966), p. 11. For other diary entries, see *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 13 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1938), pp. 366–70. The fire, which consumed over twenty-four districts and destroyed over two thousand buildings, started in an area close to the imperial palace known as Shinmachi, where a number of raw silk businesses were located. Because the fire occurred just before Hidetada's daughter was to enter the court as Go-Mizunoo's bride, rumors circulated that the incident was meant to protest bakufu encroachments on the imperial court, Kyoto's premier cultural institution. Perhaps so, but plans for Masako's arrival at court proceeded apace, and, in less than four months, the wedding was held. According to one scholar, people soon began to say that the blaze had been set by residents hostile toward the Tokugawa; this requires further documentation. Kawashima Masao, "Kanamori Sōwa oboegaki," *Chanoyu kenkyū shiryō*, vol. 7 (1974), p. 36; see also Isaac Titsingh, *Nipon o dai itsi ran; ou, Annales des Empereurs du Japon, tr. par M. Isaac Titsingh avec l'aide de plusieurs interprètes attachés au comptoir hollandais de Nangasaki; ouvrage re., complété et cor. sur l'original japonais-chinois, accompagné de notes et précédé d'un Aperçu d'histoire mythologique du Japon* (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1896), p. 410.

3 For full illustration, see Takeda et al., *Fūzokuga: Kōbu fūzoku*, pls. 25–28. The format here—a pair of four-panel screens—is unusual, but the pictorial composition seems nearly complete and integrated, suggesting that this is the original format. However, the screens do appear to have been cut down slightly; it seems that segments of the illustration were cut where the panels meet and, thus, some painted objects do not continue from one panel to the next.

4 See, for example, Nakamachi Keiko, "Kuge fūzoku o egaita byōbu ni tsuite," in *Fūzokuga: Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., pp. 95, 110.

5 Eyo-no-kata was first betrothed to the warrior lord Saji Kazunari (1569–1634), but was divorced from him soon thereafter. She then wed Oda Hidekatsu (1568–1586), but when he died suddenly, she was married a third time apparently to a Kyoto aristocrat, Kujō Michihide (perhaps also known as Tanemichi [?–1594]), who also soon died.

6 Entry from the 26th day, 9th month, 1608, *Gien jugō nikki*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 13, p. 735; see also Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo'in*, pp. 54–55; Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, pp. 24–25; Ono Shinji, "Bakufu to tennō," in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, vol. 10, *Kinsei*, ed. Ienaga Saburō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963), pp. 328–31.

7 *Takasune Sukune hinamiki*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 13, p. 735.

8 Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo'in*, pp. 55–56; Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution*, p. 73.

9 Oyotsu (also known as Yotsu no Tsubone) was the daughter of a nobleman, Yotsutsuji Dainagon Kintō. After her death, at the age of 50, her daughter established the Yokian at Enshōji in her honor.

10 *Sōkokushi*; see *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 31, pp. 418–19.

11 *Yasushigekyō-ki*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 13 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1914–1915), pp. 716–17; see also Asao Naohiro, "Genna rokunen anshi ni tsuite," *Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 16 (1976), p. 31.

12 The *Nyōgo judai goyōi no koto* is recorded in the *Buya shokudan*, in *Edo shiryō sosho* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1967), pp. 205–19.

13 Ibid., p. 218.

14 For more on *keshōryō*, see Wakita Osamu, "Bakuhan taisei to josei," in *Nihon joseishi*, vol. 3, ed. Joseishi Sōgō Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), p. 6.

15 For a full accounting of the objects in Masako's bridal trousseau, see Tanomura Tadao, "Shinshutsu Tōfukumon'in judai-zu ni tsuite," *Kokka*, vol. 763 (October 1955), pp. 306–7. It is possible that several pieces

from Masako's bridal trousseau survive, including among others a lacquered mirror stand in the Tokugawa Art Museum; for more, see Haino Akio, *Konrei dōgu, Nihon no bijutsu,* no. 277 (June 1989), pp. 29–32.

16 Sadamichi, *Yome mukae no koto* in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 23, *Buke bu* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1960), pp. 37–52. As Tomoko Sakomura has noted, "The conflation of materiality with intellectual knowledge, or the use of objects as representation of knowledge, was a large part of the contemporary practice of the warrior bridal trousseau." Sakomura, *Pictured Words and Codified Seasons*, p. 312.

17 The record is in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 70–71.

18 A number of other textual sources that elaborate upon the wedding—the *Genna nenroku* (Yearly Records of the Genna Era, 1615–1624), the *Taitokuin gojikki* (True Record of Taitokuin), the *Honganji bunsho* (Documents of Honganji), and others—present information congruous with that in *Nyōgo Masako gojudai-ki*. Tanomura, "Shinshutsu Tōfukumon'in judai-zu ni tsuite," pp. 306–7.

19 Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, p. 35; Maeda Toshiko, *Jonin no sho* (Tokyo: Kuroiwa Taikōdō, 1974), p. 119.

20 See compiled diary entries in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 33, pp. 749–824.

21 Entry from the 18th day, 6th month, 1620, *Rokuon nichiroku*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 33, p. 754; see also Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō: Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 3, pp. 479–80.

22 For transcription of the inscriptions, see Tanomura, "Shinshutsu Tōfukumon'in judai-zu ni tsuite," pp. 311–12.

23 The screens of *Scenes in and around Kyoto*, for example, commonly feature short inscriptions that give site names, but not the numerous columns of text seen on the *Wedding Procession* screens.

24 Tanomura, "Shinshutsu Tōfukumon'in judai-zu ni tsuite," pp. 315–16.

25 Tanomura, for example, comments that the *Wedding Procession* screens are factual and accurate, presenting the wedding scene as it actually appeared. He cites as evidence similarities between the figure of Karasumaru Mitsuhiro in the *Wedding Procession* screens and Mitsuhiro's appearance in a portrait found at Hōun'in in Kyoto. He states also that Mitsuhiro was older when the portrait was painted and, indeed, the nobleman appears fairly young in the small detail of him within the screens; Tanomura, "Shinshutsu Tōfukumon'in judai-zu ni tsuite," pp. 305–21. See also Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 52.

26 *Nyōgo Masako gojudai-ki* (Record of Masako's Wedding); see Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., Kan'ei no hana, p. 71, pl. 64.

27 Trans. Cecilia Segawa Seigle in Seigle, "Shinanomiya Tsuneko: Portrait of a Court Lady," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 2002), p. 12.

28 That said, stacked registers are not a completely novel compositional format for large paintings; for example, earlier paintings illustrating the lives of Buddhist saints are often arranged similarly.

29 The pair of six-panel screens of the Ii family was lost in a fire. They pictured the wedding procession in a single register moving from Nijō Castle at the far right toward the imperial palace at the far left, with the bride's carriage near the middle. For illustration, see *Dainihon shiryō*, vol. 12, no. 33, insert between pages 778 and 779. See also Nakamachi Keiko, "Kuge fūzoku o egaita byōbu ni tsuite," in *Fūzokuga: Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., p. 110. Another pair of six-panel screens of the *Wedding Procession of Tōfukumon'in* (*Tōfukumon'in judai-zu*) has recently been added to the image base of the Tokugawa Art Museum, but this author has not had the opportunity to view the work in person or to verify its theme or date of manufacture.

30 Built just after the Empress's Palace was completed, and surviving to the present day, Enshū's garden to the east of the Kogosho features an innovative design with a large pond and several structures; Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 184.

31 For more, see Itoh Teiji, "Kobori Enshu: Architectural Genius and Chanoyu Master," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, vol. 44 (1985), pp. 7–37.

32 Hirai Kiyoshi, ed., *Daikugashira Nakaike monjo no kenkyū*, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1976); see also Tani Naoki, "Daikutō Nakai Masaji to kinsei Kyōto no fukkō," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, pp. 41–48.

33 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 13 (in English).

34 The most in-depth early publication on this group of buildings is: Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 182–85, 398–408, 422–24.

35 Incidentally, there are two building types whose names are pronounced "Shinden," but they are written with different Chinese characters. One refers to a building on palace grounds reserved for ritual activities; the other refers to palace buildings moved to temple grounds, used often for residential purposes by tonsured princes and princesses.

36 See, for example, Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, pp. 157–60, 279; Tajima Tatsuya, "Gosho denrai no shōhekiga to Kanō-ha," in Kyōto Bunka Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kinsei Kyōto no Kanō-ha ten* (Kyoto: Kyōto Bunka Hakubutsukan, 2004), pp. 146–49.

37 The proposal that the former Tsunegoten of

Tōfukumon'in's Nyōgo Gosho survives as the Daikakuji Shinden was formulated by Fujioka Michio in *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 398–408. It was further examined by Nishi Kazuo and Ozawa Asae, in "Daikakuji shinden no bunken shiryō ni yoru ichiku no kakunin to ichiku jiki no tokutei: Kenchiku to shōhekiga ni yoru sōgō kentō" and "Daikakuji shinden no konseki to heimen sunpō ni yoru zenshin tatemono no kentō: Kenchiku to shōhekiga ni yoru sōgō kentō," in *Nihon kenchiku gakkai taikai gakujutsu kōen kōgaishū* (1998). One year after publication of the latter essay, further information and new interpretations were published in Kawamoto Shigeo, "Kenkyū shiryō: Daikakuji shinden," *Kokka*, vol. 1246 (1999), pp. 23–31. Based on careful examination of measurements and condition of parts of the Daikakuji Shinden, Kawamoto concludes that the building has been renovated several times and questions whether it served as a palace structure of Tōfukumon'in.

38 For full illustration and description, see Tanaka Ichimatsu et al., *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 3, *Daikakuji* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1967).

39 Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, p. 441.

40 This section contains figures in famous landscapes such as the beach near Sumiyoshi Shrine, horse races at Kamigamo Shrine, scenes of Yoshida Shrine, imperial messengers, and rice planting; Takeda Tsuneo, *Nagoya-jō honmaru goten shōhekiga shū* (Nagoya: Nagoya-jō Kanrijimusho, 1990), pp. 240–44. The *Koga bikō*, a dictionary of painters compiled in the mid-nineteenth century, assigns these Nagoya Castle paintings to Sadanobu; Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 1611. For illustration of these paintings, see Yamanaka et al., *Nenjū gyōji*, vol. 30, *Kinsei fūzoku zufu*, pls. 49–52; Yamane Yuzo, trans. John M. Shields, *Momoyama Genre Painting* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1973), pls. 4–5 and 13.

41 Several scholars disagree. The architectural historian Fujioka Michio disputes the attribution of the Daikakuji Shinden panels to Sanraku, noting the absence of documentary evidence and suggesting instead that, given the hierarchies in the Kano workshop, they should have been painted by Sadanobu; Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 402–4. More recently, Tajima Tatsuya questions whether the Daikakuji Shinden panels ever ornamented a palace structure for Tōfukumon'in, based on the aforementioned study by Kawamoto Shigeo (*Kokka*, 1999) suggesting that this building was renovated several times; Tajima, "Gosho denrai no shōhekiga to Kanō-ha," p. 148. Nonetheless many, perhaps most, scholars of painting continue to assign the panels to Sanraku based on stylistic features. To cite just one example, see Yamamoto Hideo, "Kanō Eitoku no tōjō to sono eikyō," *Momoyama kaiga no bi: Taiyō bessatsu*, vol. 145 (2007), p. 44.

42 For more on this interpretation, see Sakakibara Satoru, "Edo shoki Kanō-ha o meguru mondai: Honchō gashi to kanren shite," *Museum*, vol. 343 (October 1979), p. 25, n. 13.

43 Kanō Einō, *Honchō gashi*, in Sakazaki, ed., *Nihon kaigaron taikei*, vol. 2, p. 412; see also Doi Tsuguyoshi, "Daikakuji no Momoyama shōhekiga," in *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 3, *Daikakuji*, ed. Tanaka, p. 73.

44 Doi, "Daikakuji no Momoyama shōhekiga," pp. 74–76.

45 For more see, for example, Yamane Yūzō, ed., *Shōbyōga kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1998), pp. 174–92; Takeda Tsuneo, ed., *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 10, *Keibutsuga: Meisho keibutsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977–1981), p. 109.

46 For illustration, see Wakisaka, "Rinshōin Hōjō to Tamaya no shōhekiga," pp. 116–18. See also Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 422–23; Tajima, "Gosho denrai no shōhekiga to Kanō-ha," pp. 147–48.

47 See, for example, Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 404–6.

48 See, for example, Saitō and Tsuji, eds., *Kinsei kyūtei no bijutsu*, vol. 19, *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, p. 206.

49 For full illustration, see Fujiwara Michio, *Jō to shoin*, vol. 12, *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1967), pl. 78. Also noteworthy is the resemblance between the thin, tall pine trees in the Enman'in scenes and those in *Pine Beach* (*Hamamatsu-zu*) attributed to Kano Mitsunobu in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's mausoleum at Kōdaiji in Kyoto. For illustration, see Doi, *Momoyama Decorative Painting*, p. 97, pl. 82.

50 For illustration, see Yamanaka Yutaka et al., *Kinsei fūzoku zufu,* vol. 30, *Nenjū gyōji* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1983), pl. 53; Kyoto National Museum, ed., *Masterpieces of Kyoto National Museum* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1990), p. 79, pl. 60.

51 In the move, the building was altered, with removal of the corridor at the west, as well as changes to the inner walls, the shelves, and the alcove. Fujioka Michio, "Enman'in shinden no kenkyū," *Kinsei kenchikushi ronshū* (Tokyo: Chūo Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1969); for illustration, see Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pls. 116–19.

52 Chino Kaori, "Meisho-e no seiritsu to tenkai," in *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 10, *Keibutsuga: Meisho keibutsu*, ed. Takeda, pp. 115–21.

53 Entry from the 3rd day, 7th month, 1479, *Harutomi Sukune-ki*; see Takeda Tsuneo, ed., *Rakuchū rakugai-zu* (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1966), p. 10. See also McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, pp. 241–42, nn. 78.

54 While mere speculation, the formal reception space in the Taimenjo of Tōfukumon'in's palace—which no longer survives—might have featured Chinese women and children, comparable to the Narutaki-no-ma panels of the Nanzenji Chief Abbot's Quarters, painted earlier for Shinjōtōmon'in.

55 The Shinden was moved to Shōren'in in 1682; in 1893,

the building was destroyed by fire but the panel paintings were rescued. "Shōren'in no rekishi," *Kyōto no koji,* vol. 27, *Shōren'in* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1998); Tajima, "Gosho denrai no shōhekiga to Kanō-ha," pp. 147–48. Some scholars date the Shōren'in Shinden panel paintings later. Takeda, for example, suggests a date of about 1676, at a time when new halls for Tōfukumon'in were being built at her retirement palace; Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 54.

56 Shinbo Tōru, ed., *Nihon no shōhekiga*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1979), p. 246; Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 228.

57 For full illustration, see Shinbo, ed., *Nihon no shōhekiga*, vol. 3, pls. 94–99.

58 Fujioka credits the design of the Tamaya of Rinshōin to Kobori Enshū; he suggests that it originally sat next to a pond on the palace compound and that later it was dedicated as a shrine to the nurse-maid of Tokugawa Iemitsu, Kasuga no Tsubone (1579–1643). Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 422–23. Alternative accounts of the origins of the Tamaya are described by Wakisaka Atsushi, "Rinshōin Hōjō to Tamaya no shōhekiga," in *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 24, *Myōshinji*, ed. Miya Tsugio (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1979–1983), pp. 116–18.

59 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 16 (in English); for illustration, pls. 120–21.

60 For example, Yamamoto Hideo assigns these paintings to Mitsunobu; Yamashita Yūji, ed., *Kanō-ha ketteiban: Bessatsu taiyō*, vol. 131 (2004), p. 59.

61 It remains unclear what function the Ōgenkan of Myōhōin originally served. Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 228.

62 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 178–79.

63 Ibid., p. 187.

64 In the *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* floor-plan, the Upper Chamber is shown at upper right and the Second Room is shown at upper left.

65 Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 187.

66 Ibid., pp. 179, 186–87; Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, p. 441. Incidentally, Fujioka refers to this as his document M; however, he seems to confuse this with his document N.

67 For more, see Karen Gerhart, "Appendix: An Examination of Records," in *Copying the Master and Stealing his Secrets*, ed. Jordan and Weston, p. 190.

68 Hatano Yukihiko, "Tōfukumon'in no tegami to sono sho," *Shojō kenkyū*, vol. 7 (April 1985), pp. 1–12; *Shojō kenkyū*, vol. 8 (December 1988), pp. 7–10.

69 Entry from the 17th day, 4th month, 1640, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, p. 227. What this hanging scroll pictured, how it found its way into the aristocratic Shibayama household, and why Hōrin borrowed it, he does not say.

70 Seigle, "Shinanomiya Tsuneko: Portrait of a Court Lady," p. 10. Seigle notes that the *Mujōhōin-dono gonikki* contains more intimate details on the life of Tōfukumon'in than any other primary source; see also Seigle, *Kujō Shina no Miya no nichijō seikatsu:* Mujōhōin-dono gonikki *o yomu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001).

71 For more, see Wakita Haruko, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles within the Imperial Family, Nobility, Merchants, and Commoners," trans. Gary P. Leupp, in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, ed. Tonomura Hitomi, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1999), pp. 84–87; Wakita, "Women and the Creation of the *Ie*: An Overview from the Medieval Period to the Present," pp. 83–105.

72 Wakita Haruko explains that the ladies' memorials differed from ". . . the 'imperial orders' (*rinji*) issued by male secretaries of the Imperial Archives (Kurōdo), which conveyed the monarch's public statements. Even the latter, however, were issued through the mediation of the Female Palace Attendants Office"; Wakita, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles," p. 85.

73 Wakita Haruko, "Kyūtei nyōbō to tennō: *Oyudononoue no nikki* o megutte," in *Nihon chūsei joseishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992), pp. 231–81.

74 For more, see Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, pp. 122–23.

75 To cite another *nyōbō hōsho*, there is an example from the seventeenth century in a private collection. It conveys Go-Mizunoo's wish that the Kamakura-period compilation of verse in ten volumes entitled the *Rin'ei wakashū* (Collection of Waka for an Eternal Reign), which had formerly been owned by Aoyama Munetoshi (1604–1679), be preserved in the library at the palace. Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 36.

76 Hitomi Tonomura, "Sexual Violence Against Women: Legal and Extralegal Treatment in Premodern Warrior Societies," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, ed. Tonomura, Walthall, and Wakita, p. 138.

77 The *Onna daigaku* was composed in 1672, but issued in print in 1715 or 1716, after Ekken's death, and reprinted numerous times. According to Yokota Fuyuhiko, however, the *Onna daigaku* was not composed by Kaibara Ekken, but by some other, unidentified, author. Yokota, "Imagining Working Women in Early Modern Japan," trans. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, ed. Tonomura, Walthall, and Wakita, p. 166, n. 2; Konta Yōzō, "Onna daigaku to fujoshi no shitsuke," in *Zusetsu jinbutsu Nihon no joseishi,* vol. 8, *Hōken josei no aikan* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1980), p. 184.

78 To be precise it is not at all clear what percentage of women from previous eras was illiterate. For more on women's literacy, see Martha Tocco, "Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and*

Japan, ed. Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 194–96.

79 Not only was Senhime widowed when Hideyori died, but her son by Hideyori was executed, and her daughter by Hideyori sent to a nunnery. Later, her second husband would die and leave her widowed once again. She would then return to Edo to live in the women's quarters at Edo Castle (Ōoku). Not all women from leading warrior clans experienced as much dislocation and tragedy as Senhime, however. For more on Senhime, see Anne Dutton, "Temple Divorce in Tokugawa Japan: A Survey of Documentation on Tōkeiji and Mantokuji," in *Engendering Faith*, Ruch, pp. 233–35.

80 This was not a completely new development. In the sixteenth century, for example, two daughters of the Konoe family had been married into the Ashikaga shogunal clan. For more, see Bruschke-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils*, pp. 33–34.

81 In the early modern period, *chūgū* was the highest rank that a woman could attain while married to the reigning emperor. Tōfukumon'in's appointment as *chūgū* was a rarity, however; it had been about three hundred years since a woman had been granted the title.

82 For more, see Wakita, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles," pp. 85–87.

83 Entry from the 4th day, 3rd month, 1625, *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 9, p. 497.

84 *Kinsei seijidan*; see Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo'in*, p. 257.

85 The Konishi family archives hold a copy of the *Nyoin goshosama goyō gofuku kakiage chō*; Yamane Yūzō, *Konishike kyūzō Kōrin kankei shiryō to sono kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1967); Hanafusa, "Kariganeya Ishō zuanchō ni okeru mai-odori no ishō ni tsuite," pp. 21–33.

86 Although referred to by a traditional designation as "twelve unlined robes," this set consists of ten garments. For illustration, see Hanafusa Miki, "Tōfukumon'in to Shōken kōtaigō," in *Amamonzeki jiin no sekai: Kōjotachi no shinkō to gosho bunka*, ed. Fister, pp. 252–54, pl. 187; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 72–77, pl. 66.

87 A painted portrait of the empress is also preserved at Kōunji, but it dates to the nineteenth century and was likely based on this sculpture. Hanafusa, "Tōfukumon'in to Shōken kōtaigō," in *Amamonzeki jiin no sekai*, ed. Fister, pp. 252–53, 265, pls. 185–86; Tanabe Sanrosuke, *Edo jidai no chōkoku*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 506 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2008), p. 96.

88 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 108.

89 Okamoto Hōō, "Oshi-e," *Tankō* (December 1984), p. 96.

90 Among her extant *oshi-e* are *Ariwara no Narihira* and *Ono no Komachi* from the collection of Sata Tenmangū, Ōsaka; *Ki no Tsurayuki* from Kōshōji, Uji; and *Flowering Peach Branches* and a triptych of *Nō Scenes* from Omotesenke, Kyoto. Tōfukumon'in's *oshi-e* of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, which is preserved at Shōgo'in in Kyoto, has added at the top of the scroll a poem square inscribed by Go-Mizunoo with an often-quoted verse, sometimes ascribed to Hitomaro. Portraits of Hitomaro, long recognized as a kind of patron saint of poetry, had been displayed at poetry parties for centuries; for more, see Reizei Tamehito, "Hōrin Jōshō to Fujitani Tamekata: Hitomarozō o megutte," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, pp. 171–79.

91 Meishō also transcribed a *waka* poem ascribed to Michizane on a poem card affixed to the upper part of this hanging scroll.

92 Nezu Bijutsukan, ed., *Tokiwayama Bunko meihin ten: Tenjinsama* (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 2003).

93 Patricia Fister, "Merōfu Kannon and Her Veneration in Zen and Imperial Circles in Seventeenth-Century Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2007), pp. 417–42.

94 Ibid., pp. 424–26.

95 Shigaken Kyōiku Iinkai Jimukyoku Bunkazai Hogoka, ed., *Eigenji kankei jiin komonjotō chōsa hōkokusho* (Shiga: Shigaken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1998), pp. 574–75; Fister, "Jishōinzō Merōfu Kannonzō no nazuke no hensen," *Nihon kenkyū*, vol. 35 (May 2007), pp. 437–49.

96 Among these devotional images is the small lacquered shrine housing a miniature sculpture of Batō Kannon, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For illustration, see Barbara Brennan Ford, "The Arts of Japan," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Summer 1987), p. 48, pl. 54.

97 Moriya Takehisa, *Kyōto no bunkazai: Sono rekishi to hozon* (Kyoto: Kyōtofu Bunkazai Hogo Kikin, 1990), pp. 111–12.

98 Tōfukumon'in's support corresponds with a practice in early modern Europe, a practice that the Italian art historian Beth Homan has described as "a female genealogy of generosity"; Homan, "Exemplum and Imitatio: Countess Matilda and Lucrezia Pico della Mirandola at Polirone," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 81, no. 4 (December 1999), pp. 637–64.

99 Maeda, *Jonin no sho*, p. 120.

100 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 192.

101 Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, pp. 51–53.

102 Chūkamon'in is described as "always in the shadows, she protected Masako [Tōfukumon'in] from people at court, revealing her kindness as a mother-in-law." Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 52. For more on Tōfukumon'in's reliance upon Chūkamon'in, see Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 58. No documentary sources are given in support of this interpretation, however.

103 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 52.
104 These gifts are recorded in the *Edo bakufu nikki* (Daily Record of the Edo Bakufu) and the *Ōuchi nikki* (Record of the Ōuchi), which are found in facsimiles in the collection of the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, Tokyo.
105 Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 58.
106 Scholars and popular authors alike tend to characterize the marrige as harmonious. See, for example, Tanihata Akio, "Chanoyu and the Imperial Court," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, vol. 71 (1992), p. 47; Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 52.
107 Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo'in*, pp. 75–77.

Chapter 6

1 *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 377–91.
2 Sūden communicated regularly with the Kyoto magistrate Itakura Shigemune, and he describes detailed preparations for the excursion in his diary. Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, p. 58. The court awarded Sūden the title of "Honkō, Teacher of the Land" (Honkō Kokushi) for his efforts to ensure a successful visit.
3 The artist rendered forms in this pair of screens of *Scenes in and around Kyoto* as they would have appeared at various dates, as did many other artists who captured Kyoto panoramas. The left screen features a procession leaving the main gate of Nijō Castle—with a small label identifying the procession as that of a Tokugawa lord—which is thought to represent Tokugawa Hidetada departing for his 1611 visit to Emperor Go-Mizunoo, in part allowing us to date the screens after 1611. Other details of Nijō Castle follow its appearance before it was refurbished for the imperial visit of 1626. Yet, there is also a label identifying figures in the Gojō area as male dancers of Okichi Kabuki, which began in 1629. The screens are therefore dated to 1629 or later. Murase and Amemiya, *Turning Point*, pp. 228–29.
4 Ōta Hirotarō et al., *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1974), pp. 17–18; Nishi Kazuo and Ozawa Asae, "Nijōjō Ninomaru goten no kenkyū: Kenchiku heimen to shōhekiga fukugen," *Kokka*, vol. 1168 (1993), pp. 27–38; vol. 1171 (1993), pp. 32–43.
5 The buildings of the Emperor's Visitation Palace were transferred to Sentō Gosho, and those of the Empress's Visitation Palace were moved to the Iwakura Palace of Princess Akiko, daughter of Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in. Nishi Kazuo, *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu*, vol. 19, *Himeijijō to Nijōjō* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991), pp. 129–30.
6 Tamamushi Satoko, *Kōza Nihon bijustushi,* vol. 5, *"Kazari" to "tsukuri" no ryōbun* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku no Shuppankai, 2005), p. 57.
7 The *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten on-e tsuke onsashi-zu* is a document from the Nakai family records, found today in the Kyōto Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan. For a reproduction of the original document, along with a modern version with more legible inscriptions, see Tamamushi, *Kōza Nihon bijustushi,* vol. 5, *"Kazari" to "tsukuri" no ryōbun*, p. 56.
8 For more, see Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, pp. 1–33; see also the special issue on the panel paintings of Nijō Castle in *Kokka*, vol. 1300 (2004).
9 Julia K. Murray, "From Textbook to Testimonial: The Emperor's Mirror, An Illustrated Discussion (*Di jian tu shuo/Teikan zusetsu*) in China and Japan," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 31 (2001), pp. 65–101. For a reproduction of the original *Teikan zusetsu*, see Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, ed., *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: Edehon ten*, 2 vols. (Machida: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990).
10 For illustrations, see Takeda Tsuneo et al., *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 4, *Jinbutsuga: Kangakei jinbutsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), pls. 62–64, 104–5.
11 Gerhart, "Classical Imagery and Tokugawa Patronage: A Redefinition in the Seventeenth Century," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 179–80.
12 Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, p. 144.
13 The party was held on the 24th day, 7th month, 1626; see Nishiyama, *Edo Culture*, p. 34.
14 These include the *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten* from the Nakai family collections and the *Nijō oshiro osakuji shosho ozaimoku takaharai chō* from the Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, to name just two.
15 For full illustration, see Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 108–11, pl. 98.
16 This identification is open to question, because the roofs are brown and appear to be made of cedar shingle, but most of the Ninomaru Palace buildings have gray tile roofs. I am presuming that this was a change made by the artist for graphic effect, but the possibility exists that the buildings pictured here are actually those of the Emperor's Visitation Palace, which were constructed of cedar with cedar shingle roofs.
17 This slightly contradicts information given by Asao Naohiro, who claims that the procession was headed by Tōfukumon'in, followed by Chūkamon'in and the princesses, and that the ladies were transported in palanquins. Asao Naohiro, *Nihon no rekishi,* vol. 17, *Sakoku* 163–169 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1975), pp. 136–38.
18 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 108.
19 Yamamoto, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō no hyōgen*, p. 364; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 112–13.
20 One pair of six-panel screens, belonging to a private collection, is illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi

Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pl. 100. A similar pair of screens, also in a private collection, is illustrated in Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan, ed., *Tokubetsuten gyōji-e*, pl. 23.

21 Two pairs of screens of this subject are found in private collections. One is in the Nakamura collection in Kyoto; for illustration, see Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, pp. 12–13. Another is in a private collection in Osaka; for illustration, see Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Edo jidai zushi,* vol. 1, *Kyōto* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1975), pl. 49. Yet another pair with this subject is in the Suntory Art Museum, Tokyo, and has an inscription by Tosa Mitsutaka (Mitsusuke; 1675–1710). For illustration, see Okada Jō, *Genre Screens from the Suntory Museum of Art*, trans. Emily Sano (New York: Japan Society, 1978), pp. 22–23, pl. 2. Finally, a pair of screens picturing the imperial excursion within *Scenes in and around Kyoto* was recently evaluated by Christie's auction house; I thank Julia Meech for alerting me to this and sharing photos of the painting.

22 *Kan'ei gyōkō-ki* in *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 2, p. 493; trans. Hiroaki Sato and Jeannine Ciliotta, in Kiyoshi Hirai, *Feudal Architecture of Japan* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1973), p. 125.

23 For illustration, see Murai et al., *Omoshiro no hana no miyako*, pp. 166–67, pl. 127.

Chapter 7

1 Among the theatrical events hosted by the couple were Nō performances; for more, see Ōtani Setsuko, "Kinsei kinri Sentō Nō ikken," *Geinoshi kenkyū*, vol. 113 (March 1991), pp. 38–49.

2 Hayashiya Tatsusaburō asserts that a Kan'ei classical revival saw the palace reach out to the *machishū* to resist the bakufu; Hayashiya, *Machishū: Kyōto ni okeru shimin keiseishi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1964). This notion seems to be accepted by a number of prominent art historians including Mizuo Hiroshi, Yamane Yūzō, Tsuji Nobuo, and Kōno Motoaki. Hayashiya also claims that commoners experienced greater egalitarianism and exercised extensive political authority in sixteenth-century Kyoto. In his book *The Last Tosa*, Sandy Kita extends upon Hayashiya's interpretive approach, asserting that wealthy merchants interacted freely with noblemen; Kita, *The Last Tosa*, p. 7. Some scholars consider such claims to be exaggerated; see, for example, Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 232–34; Lee Butler, "Language Change and 'Proper' Transliterations in Premodern Japanese," *Japanese Language and Literature*, vol. 36, no. 1 (April 2002), pp. 35, 42, nn. 29, 30.

3 See, for example, Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 153.

4 Kumakura Isao holds that Go-Mizunoo's salon was "very popular" and that at his palace gatherings, specifically at events for flower arrangement, commoners "were not only allowed to freely mix with the monarch and court nobles, but also to freely express their opinions, something which hitherto had been forbidden." Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture," *Chanoyu Quarterly, vol.* 42 (1985), pp. 21–22.

5 Certain scholars have taken issue with Hayashiya and Kumakura, arguing that individuals of different social backgrounds had also been present at cultural gatherings in the previous century, which is admittedly the case; see Sugimoto, "Kyūtei saron ni miru dentō no keishō," pp. 34–42; Oka Yoshiko, "Mō hitotsu no Kan'ei bunkaron: Buke to dōgu no kankei," pp. 389–419. For related research, see Oka, "Hōrin Jōshō to Kakumei-ki," "Kan'ei bunka no chanoyu," "Karamonoya oboegaki: Ōhira Gohei to Katsuyama Chōji," and "Hōrin Jōshō no yuigonjō," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, pp. 27–34, 163–70, 199–208, 255–62. I thank Oka for commenting in written correspondence on the differences between her interpretation and that presented in so-called Kan'ei cultural theory. See also Tanaka, "Edo bunka no patoronēji," pp. 143–76. Records of commoner access to the seventeenth-century court require further scrutiny, and it is hoped that future scholarship will clarify the extent to which commoners were actually active at Go-Mizunoo's palace or retirement palace.

6 From the sixteenth century on, the shops seem to have proliferated in prosperous urban centers including Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai. Yamane Yūzō, "Eya ni tsuite," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 48, no. 12, 4 (March 1963), pp. 107–17.

7 Translated in written documentation #6 in Howard Link, "The Kōetsu-Sōtatsu Tradition of Kyoto," in *Exquisite Visions: Rimpa Paintings from Japan*, ed. Howard A. Link and Tōru Shinbo (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1980), p. 23.

8 Kōi participated in the production of painted panels for Nijō Castle about 1626. Kōi's most notable contribution here was painting in the Shiroshoin, the shogun's sleeping quarters and personal chambers.

9 Entry from the 13th day, 3rd month, 1616, *Nakanoin Michimura nikki*; see Link, *Exquisite Visions: Rimpa Paintings from Japan*, p. 23.

10 Entry from the 17th day, 4th month, 1643, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, pp. 464–65.

11 Entry from the 23rd day, 10th month, 1655, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 3, p. 710.

12 Murashige, *Tennō to kuge no shōzō*, pp. 77–78; Yamato Bunkakan, ed., *Suminokura Soan: Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, Owari Tokugawa Yoshinao to no kōyū no naka de* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2002), p. 59; Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 68.

13 Entry from the 4th day, 5th month, 1664, *Gyōjo hōshinnō nikki*, in *Myōhōin shiryō*, vol. 1, ed. Myōhōin Shiryō Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976), p. 30. See also Murashige Yasushi, *Tennō to kuge no shōzō*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 387 (1998), pp. 16, 77–78; Gerhart, "Kano Tan'yū and Hōrin Jōshō: Patronage and Artistic Practice," p. 503.
14 Entry from the 2nd day, 6th month, 1664, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 5, p. 591.
15 Kanō Tan'en (1805–1853), *Tan'en senzosho*, in *Tōyō bijutsu taikan*, vol. 5, ed. Tajima Shiichi (Tokyo: Shinbi Shoin, 1909), p. 365.
16 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pp. 8–9.
17 Wakisaka Atsushi, entry 19, in *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture*, ed. Shimizu, pp. 71–72.
18 Nakanoin Michimura, a court envoy to the Edo government, states in a diary entry that Go-Mizunoo owned a painting by Sanpō; entry from the 13th day, 3rd month, 1616, *Nakanoin Michimura nikki*; see Kita, *The Last Tosa*, p. 136. Although Sanpō's identity remains somewhat uncertain, Kurokawa Dōyū (d. 1691) records that Sanpō studied with Sanraku and created paintings with warrior themes; see *Nihon zuihitsu zenshū*, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kakushiki Kaisha, 1927–1930), pp. 71–72. Kurokawa Harumura (1799–1866) would also later maintain that the emperor bestowed the title of *hōgen* on Sanpō. Harumura's comment in his *Kōko gafu* (Album of Antique Paintings) was repeated by Kurokawa Mayori (1829–1906) in the *Zōho kōko gafu* (Supplement to the Album of Antique Paintings). Kurokawa Harumura and Kurokawa Mayori, *Zōho kōko gafu* (Tokyo: Kunaichō, 1887), pp. 61–62.
19 See, for example, the entry from 22nd day, 5th month, 1641, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, pp. 313–14. For more, see Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 220; Tanaka Toshio, "Eshi Itō Chōhyōei no futatsu no gagyō," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, p. 78.
20 Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 57.
21 Entry from the 12th day, 8th month, 1664, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 5, p. 622.
22 *Gyōjo hōshinnō nikki*; see Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 56.
23 Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito,* vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, p. 56. Neither Tan'yū's triptych nor Sanraku's screens is known to survive.
24 Doi Tsugiyoshi attributed the paintings of *Chinese Lions* at Yōgen'in to Sanraku, an attribution that has been widely accepted. For illustration see Doi, *Kanō Eitoku, Sanraku*, vol. 12, *Nihon kaiga zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1976–1980), pl. 1; Doi, *Momoyama Decorative Painting*, pls. 22, 49.
25 A roof tile in the form of a demon's head (*onigawara*) from the Yōgen'in main hall bears an inscription uncovered in 1962; this inscription is dated to the 20th day, 2nd month, 1621, indicating a completion date for the temple's reconstruction. Kakihana, *Yōgen'in no hana: Tōfukumon'in Masako*, p. 98. This finding supports claims of sponsorship of Yōgen'in by female descendants of Asai Nagamasa, as recorded in 1705 by Ōshima Takeyoshi in his guidebook *Yamashiro meisho shi* (Annals of Famous Sites in Yamashiro Province), see Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō: Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 10, p. 550. Among other early records on the founding of the temple are the 1778 *Fusō shōmei shū* (Collection of Inscriptions on Japanese Temple Bells) by Okazaki Nobuyoshi and the 1786 *Yōgen'in on yuisho-ki* (Origin and History of Yōgen'in), kept at the temple. Yamane Yūzō, "Den Sōtatsu-hitsu no Yōgen'in sugido, fusuma-e," *Yamato bunka* 23 (June 1957), p. 8; Kōno Motoaki, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gakō," *Kokka* 1106 (1987), pp. 21–24.
26 Eyo-no-kata is said to have exercised great influence over her husband, even to the extent that he refrained from bringing other consorts into his residence. Wakita, "Bakuhan taisei to josei," p. 13; Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 227.
27 Furthermore, an entry from the 9th month of 1633 in the *Ōuchi nikki*, which relates that Tōfukumon'in offered prayers for her mother, suggests that she did, indeed, observe her mother's death anniversary annually; Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 112.
28 Tōfukumon'in's brother, the shogun Iemitsu, held memorial services for Hidetada at Zōjōji, a Tokugawa family temple in Edo; Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 112.
29 Most shells in the *kai awase* set that Tōfukumon'in gave Sōtan were apparently divided between Urasenke (having one container holding 180 shells) and Omotesenke (having the other container holding 175 shells). The shells now in the Mitsui Bunko are accompanied by a storage box, and on the underside of the box lid is an inscription explaining that Sōtan had received the shells from Tōfukumon'in and that the painter was Kano Einō. For illustration of shells from the set at Urasenke, see Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Urasenke rekidai kōbutsushū* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1977), pp. 26–27, pls. 93–94.
30 The *Oyudononoue no nikki* is one record that refers to a number of gatherings at which the game was played. Oyudononoue no Nikki Kenkyūkai, ed., *Oyudononoue no nikki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1973), pp. 251–52.
31 Kirihata et al., *Inishie no miyabi no sekai: Ōchō no asobi*, p. 168. One of the oldest known surviving shell sets belonged to Go-Mizunoo's paternal grandmother, Empress Shinjōtōmon'in, and is preserved at the Jingū Chokōkan in Mie. Traditional accounts at the Jingū

Chokōkan maintain that Shinjōtōmon'in donated the set to their shrine in 1607. For illustration, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kyūtei no miyabi: Konoe-ke nissennen no meihō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2008), p. 295, pl. 239.

32 In fact, there may have been no *edokoro azukari* for several decades after Takanobu's death. Miyajima speculates that Kano and Tawaraya painters filled the gap in palace painting during this phase. Miyajima, *Kyūtei gadanshi no kenkyū*, p. 220.

33 Mitsuoki's father, Tosa Mitsunori, had returned with his family to Kyoto from Sakai in 1634.

34 For more on paintings by a significant Tosa artist, Mitsunobu, see McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*; Takeuchi, "Signed, Sealed, and Delivered," pp. 80–89.

35 Narazaki Muneshige, "Tosa Mitsuoki hitsu Ōka fūju-zu byōbu," *Kokka*, vol. 789 (December 1957), pp. 393–96; Shimada Shujirō et al., *Zaigai Nihon no shihō*, vol. 4, *Shōbyōga* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1979), pls. 68–69.

36 Entry from the 18th day, 1st month, 1672, *Mujōhōin-dono gonikki*; see Hanafusa Miki, "Tōfukumon'in no waka no shukō ni tsuite: Tekagami, byōbu-e nado kashihin o tegakari ni," *Kashima bijutsu kenkyū*, vol. 24 (2007), p. 468.

37 The title "Tosa Shōgen" derives from the artist's nominal position as governor of Tosa province, supposedly passed down by his ancestors; numerous other paintings by Mitsuoki with the signature "Tosa sakon shōgen Mitsuoki hitsu" survive. Iwama Kaori, "Tosa Mitsuoki to kinri edokoro no fukkō," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, pp. 57–62.

38 Narazaki Muneshige transcribed the appraisal document in a *Kokka* article of 1957; at some point, however, the document was separated from the screens and apparently did not accompany the screens when they entered the Art Institute of Chicago. Narazaki, "Tosa Mitsuoki hitsu Ōka fūju-zu byōbu," pp. 393–96. Recently, however, Fumiko Cranston located a transcription of this document in the *Kanpon shikidō ōkagami* (The Complete Encyclopedia of the Pleasure Quarters). Cranston, "Translations of the Waka Poems on Tosa Mitsuoki's Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples with Poem Slips," in *Beyond Golden Clouds: Japanese Screens from the Art Institute of Chicago and the Saint Louis Art Museum*, ed. Janice Katz (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2009), p. 48.

39 Tanomura Tadao, "Ga no byōbu kō: Kinsei ni okeru gasan byōbu no yōshiki to seisaku katei," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 40 (1961), pp. 133–41.

40 Himeji-shi Hensanshitsu, ed., *Himeji-shishi shiryō sōsho*, no. 2, *Kiyō hikan-kan*, vol. 7, *Fukei* (Himeji: Himejishi-shi Hensanshitsu, 2003), p. 200.

41 Tamamushi Satoko, "Tosa Mitsuoki's Screens of Flowering Cherry and Autumn Maples with Poem Slips in the Context of Kazari and Tsukuri," in *Beyond Golden Clouds*, ed. Katz, p. 35.

42 Ryōin also identifies the calligraphers who wrote the poems on the *tanzaku* as twenty-five leading members of the aristocracy and the clergy. For more on poem screens, see Tamamushi Satoko, "Kinsei shoki no byōbu to sho to ryōshi sōshoku: Shōkadō Shōjō hitsu Chokusenshū waka byōbu o megutte," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 117 (1985), pp. 55–75.

43 For illustration, see Okamoto, "Oshi-e," p. 97.

44 Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 1511.

45 The emperor gave the titles—in order of ascending rank, "Bridge of the Law" (*hokkyō*), "Eye of the Law" (*hōgen*), and "Seal of the Law" (*hōin*)—to accomplished artists. These had originated in the early Heian period as honorary titles for Buddhist priests, but in later centuries emperors granted the ranks to doctors, scholars, and artists.

46 Shimohara Miho, "Sumiyoshi Kōryū to Tendaishū to no kankei ni tsuite," *Kagoshima Daigaku Kyōikugakubu kenkyū kiyō* 59 (2008), pp. 33–42. See also Sakakibara, *Edo meisaku gachō zenshū*, vol. 5, *Mitsunori, Mitsuoki, Gukei: Tosa, Sumiyoshi-ha* (Tokyo: Shishindō, 1993), pp. 188–89.

47 For illustration, see Myōhōin Shiryō Kenkyūkai, ed., *Myōhōin shiryō*, vol. 1, pl. 2.

48 Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 1509.

49 In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Edo government established the designation *goyō eshi* for favored official artists, which also came with military rank; Kobayashi Tadashi, *Edo kaigashi ron* (Tokyo: Ryuri Shobō, 1983), pp. 34–35; Sakakibara Satoru, *Mitsunori, Mitsuoki, Gukei: Tosa, Sumiyoshi-ha*, pp. 188–89.

50 Sakakibara Satoru writes, "This change can be seen as a conscious decision [on the part of the bakufu] to appoint a representative of a native painting school of the Yamatoe tradition." See <http://www.groveart.com/tdaonline/text/articles/08/0823/082327.html> accessed June 8, 2011.

51 Employed as "painters of the inner quarters" (*oku eshi*), these Kano atelier members were upper-level official painters for the shogunate and were required to work at the office of painting at Edo Castle on a fixed day each month.

52 Namiki Seishi, "Muromachi kōki ni okeru kaiga seisaku no ba," *Bigaku*, vol. 160 (1990), pp. 60–71.

53 Yasumura Toshinobu in Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Karasumaru Mitsuhiro to Tawaraya Sōtatsu* (Tokyo: Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan, 1982), pp. 98–100.

54 Entry from the 13th day, 3rd month, 1616, *Nakanoin Michimura nikki*; see Yasumura, *Karasumaru Mitsuhiro to Tawaraya Sōtatsu*, p. 100. Michimura does not refer to Sōtatsu specifically, and he uses a Chinese character for

"Tawara" different from that in Sōtatsu's shop name, but scholars tend to conclude that Michimura is referring to a painting by Sōtatsu.

55 For illustration of a painting of this subject in monochrome ink by Sōtatsu, now in the Kyoto office of the Imperial Household Agency, see Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pl. 108.

56 For illustration, see Yamakawa Takeshi et al., *Nihon kaiga zenshū*, vol. 21, *Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, Kōrin: Rinpa* (Tokyo: Gakken, 1979), pls. 20–21.

57 Yamane Yūzō, ed., *Rinpa kaiga zenshū*, vol. 2, *Sōtatsu* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1978), pp. 73–74; Yamane, "Den Sōtatsu-hitsu no Yōgen'in sugido, fusuma-e," pp. 1–22.

58 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 112. Several scholars identify Tōfukumon'in as the intermediary who involved Sōtatsu in this project. See, for example, Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 206; Yasumura, *Karasumaru Mitsuhiro to Tawaraya Sōtatsu*, p. 101.

59 For full illustration, see Yamane, ed., *Rinpa kaiga zenshū*, vol. 2, *Sōtatsu*, pls. 43–44. On the reverse of the second pair of doors are creatures—identified either as mythical giraffe-like beings (*kirin*) or as rhinoceroses (*sai*)—which may have been painted by a member of Sōtatsu's workshop.

60 Some scholars consider these to be Sōtatsu's oldest extant panels, as well as the first project that allowed him to develop a mature approach to large-scale painting. See, for example, Takeda, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, vol. 17, *Tōfukumon'in*, pp. 44–45; Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 112. Other scholars, however, hold that Sōtatsu had fashioned an integrated manner for large-scale painting before this point.

61 Ōoku Shunboku, *Gashi kaiyō* (Osaka: Onogi Ichibe, 1753).

62 Akisato, *Miyako rinsen meishō zue*, in *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho*, vol. 9, p. 297. See also Takemura Toshinori, ed., *Nihon meisho fūzokuzukai*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1981), p. 188.

63 Asaoka and Ōta, eds., *Zōtei: Koga bikō*, p. 1528.

64 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 206.

65 For more, see Nakamachi, "The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 83–88.

66 Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, ed., *Kōetsu no sho: Keichō, Genna, Kan'ei no meihitsu* (Osaka: Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1990), entry 68.

67 It is widely thought that Sōtatsu repaired several sections of the sutras in 1602, perhaps his earliest known project, and it is possible that Yūshō recommended Sōtatsu for this work. Tamamushi Satoko, "Heike nōkyō to Tawaraya Sōtatsu," *Heike nōkyō to Itsukushima no hōmotsu* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1997), pp. 122–25.

68 Yamakawa et al., *Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, Kōrin: Rinpa*, pp. 153–54.

69 In addition, Sōtatsu and Kōetsu were married to sisters; Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 93.

70 The written exchange between Go-Mizunoo and Kanetō is dated to the 2nd day, 12th month, 1630, and reads: "By appointment to the Imperial Library: of the three pairs of screens requested, the mountain plum tree set has the one [with] underpainting on gold [or silver] foil completed. Thus says Sōtatsu. More to follow"; translation of written documentation #2 in Link, "The Kōetsu-Sōtatsu Tradition of Kyoto," p. 23 and illustrated in fig. 18; Yamato Bunkakan, ed., *Suminokura Soan*, p. 71.

71 The screen was included in an article in *Bijutsushi* and in the 2002 exhibition at the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara. Hayashi Susumu, "Shinshutsu no Sōtatsu-hitsu Yōbai-zu byōbu ni tsuite," *Bijutushi*, vol. 147 (1999), pp. 152–53; Yamato Bunkakan, ed., *Suminokura Soan*, p. 24, pl. 61.

72 It is possible that Sōtatsu was named *hokkyō* as early as 1616. Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gakō," pp. 28, 40.

73 Igarashi Kōichi, "Sanbōin Kakujō to Sōtatsu," *Kokka*, vol. 1319 (2005), pp. 32–35. Incidentally, Kakujō's older brother, the courtier Takatsukasa Nobuhisa (1590–1621), had married Go-Mizunoo's elder sister, Princess Seishi.

74 The Ekan Sansō, once located at Nishikamo in Kyoto, was moved to the Yamada estate in Kanagawa in 1959. Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 112. For illustration of one of the cedar doors, see Nezu Bjutsukan, ed., *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen*, p. 34.

75 Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, "Sōtatsu no suiboku sugido-e," *Kobijutsu*, vol. 6 (October 1964), pp. 71–105.

76 Kōetsu's grandson Kōho (1601–1682) commented in his *Hon'ami gyōjō-ki* (Annals of the Hon'ami Family) on the establishment of the Takagamine colony. Masaki Tokuzō, *Hon'ami gyōjō-ki to Kōetsu* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu, 1993), pp. 38–39. For more, see Fumiko Cranston, "Takagamine Colony: Kōetsu at Takagamine," in *The Arts of Hon'ami Kōetsu*, ed. Fischer, pp. 120–37.

77 Described in a letter written by Nobuhiro on the 3rd day, 6th month, 1638; see Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, pp. 161–62.

78 Fischer, "The Life and Arts of Hon'ami Kōetsu," in *The Arts of Hon'ami Kōetsu*, ed. Fischer, pp. 21–22.

79 See, for example, Mizuo Hiroshi, *Edo Painting: Sotatsu and Korin* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1972), pp. 66–68.

80 Tamamushi Satoko, "Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the 'Yamato-e Revival'," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 53–78; Yasumura, *Karasumaru Mitsuhiro to Tawaraya Sōtatsu*, pp. 98–100.

81 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 102.

82 For more see, for example, Wakita Osamu, "The Social and Economic Consequences of Unification," in *The Cambridge History of Japan,* vol. 4, *Early Modern Japan*, John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 121–25.

83 The work is kept today in the Maeda Ikutokukai, Tokyo. Only a copy of the first scroll from this set survives, and it is possible that the emperor's gift was from the outset a single scroll. Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, ed., *Maeda Tsunanori ten: Kaga bunka no hana* (Kanazawa: Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1988), p. 215; Yoshida Tomokore, *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū*, vol. 5, *Tosa Mitsunobu* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1979), p. 142.

84 Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, ed., *Maeda Tsunanori ten*, p. 215, pl. 119.

85 Later, in the third month of 1648, Toshitsune dedicated the first scroll of the set to Zuiryūji, one of many treasures that Toshitsune would dedicate to the temple. The scroll was eventually moved from Zuiryūji, a Zen temple in Toyama that Toshitsune had helped to rebuild, and returned to the Maeda family collection. There is another version of the *Poetry Competition between Artisans* handscroll in the Maeda collection; it is dated to 1684, apparently a copy of the same original work. Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, ed., *Maeda Tsunanori ten*, p. 215, pl. 29.

86 Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Zuiryūji ten zuroku* (Kanazawa: Ishikawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1997), pl. 102.

87 The miscellany *Gunsho ruijū*; see Yoshida, *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū*, vol. 5, *Tosa Mitsunobu*, p. 142. It is worth noting that Toshitsune had been married to Tama (1599–1622), Tōfukumon'in elder sister.

88 Iwasaki Kae, *Shokunin uta-awase: Chūsei no shokunin gunzō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), pp. 91–95.

89 Yamamoto Yuiitsu, "Tōhokuin to Tsurugaoka hōjōe: Kamakuraki Shokunin uta-awase-e no seiritsu," *Kobijutsu*, vol. 74 (April 1985), p. 38.

90 Related to religious dimensions of the theme is the very term "*shokunin*"—translated as artisans, tradespeople, professionals, craftspeople, or people of skill—which has been traced back to China of ca. 5th c. BCE. *Zhou li* (*Rites of Zhou*), Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten, 1955–1960), p. 232. See also Melinda Takeuchi, "Introduction," in *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, ed. Melinda Takeuchi (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), p. 10. *Shokunin* have been identified with "people of the road" (*michi-michi no mono*), a term that itself conveyed religious meaning; *michi-michi no mono* were cloaked in a divine aura, equated with outsider gods (*marebito*), indicating layers of sacred connotations of the theme of artisans-poets. For more, see Yamaguchi, "Kingship, Theatricality, and Marginal Reality in Japan," in *Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition*, ed. Ravindra K. Jain (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977), pp. 152–57. On *uta-awase* and holy mendicants, see Kamanishi, *Explaining Pictures*, pp. 120–34.

91 See, for example, Iwasaki, *Shokunin uta-awase*, pp. 91–95.

92 This anonymous scroll in the Tokyo National Museum depicts artisans—including among others a physician, a metal smith, a gambler, and a female spirit-medium, with a priest serving as judge—in a poetry match supposedly held in 1214. For more, see Takeuchi, "Introduction," *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, p. 11; Hideo Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, vol. 5, *Arts of Japan*, trans. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis (New York: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1973), p. 139. For illustration, see Mori Toru, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 28 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1979). For illustration with text transcription, see Hanawa Hokinoichi, ed., *Shinkō gunsho ruijū*, vol. 22 (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1928–1938), pp. 28–38.

93 An inscribed preface on the scroll relates that the painting came from the early fourteenth-century Hagiharaden, the palace of retired Emperor Hanazono, and that it may have been painted by Hanazono. Formerly the scroll was preserved in the imperial temple of Manshuin in Kyoto; Yamamoto, "Tōhokuin to Tsurugaoka hōjōe," p. 40.

94 Figures in the *Tsurugaoka hōjōe shokunin uta-awase emaki* include a courtesan, a woodcutter, a fisherman, an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and others. The judge is the head priest of the shrine. For illustration, see Mori, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 28.

95 The illustrated handscrolls—*Poetry Competition between Artisans in Thirty-two Pairs* (*Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase emaki*), tentatively dated to 1494 and kept in the Tenri Library, Nara—may have been produced by a court artist as an aristocratic commission for a Buddhist memorial service. For illustrations, see Mori, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū*, p. 28, pls. 12–14. Several extant illustrated handscrolls of a *Poetry Competition between Artisans in Seventy-one Pairs* (*Shichijūichiban shokunin uta-awase emaki*) are known. One set has paintings attributed to the early sixteenth-century court artist Tosa Mitsunobu and calligraphy by the nobleman Kanroji Chikanaga.

96 In addition to painters of the Tosa and Sumiyoshi workshops, another artist of the day known to have painted images of tradespeople is Iwasa Matabei. Kita, *The Last Tosa*, pp. 186–201.

97 For more, see Ishida Naotoyo, *Shokunin zukushi-e*, *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 132 (1976), pp. 27–28.

98 This commission is mentioned in a letter that Shōjō sent to a low ranking aristocrat in the service of Konoe Nobuhiro, Go-Mizunoo's brother. Shōjō's letter is found in the Yōmei Bunko. Shōjō's brother worked for

Nobuhiro's adoptive father, Konoe Nobutada, which perhaps provided Shōjō with opportunities to interact with courtiers. Yazaki Itaru, "Shōkadō gajō no Totō tenjin-zō," *Nihon bijutsu kōgei*, vol. 428 (May 1974), pp. 84–99. In addition, Wada Hidematsu mentions two records that speak of a *Poetry Competition between Various Artisans, Owned by Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo* (*Go-Mizunoo'in shokunin zukushi uta-awase*), but he adds no additional information about this work; Wada, *Kōshitsu gyosen no kenkyū*, p. 917.

99 Yamamura Kozo, "Toward a Reexamination of the Economic History of Tokugawa Japan, 1600–1867," *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 33, no. 3 (September 1973), pp. 509–46.

100 Earlier, Hideyoshi had frozen people's social level, while allowing Kyoto townspeople to exercise control over certain affairs and condoning a degree of openness in social interactions. For more see, for example, Hayashiya, *Machishū: Kyōto ni okeru "shimin" keisei-shi*; Mary Elizabeth Berry, "Restoring the Past: The Documents of Hideyoshi's Magistrate in Kyoto," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 43, no. 1 (June 1983), p. 74. Commoners, forced to accept Tokugawa social engineering, sometimes echoed the very bakufu ideology that relegated them to a lowly standing. For instance, Jikigyō Miroku (1671–1733), a townsman-merchant and popular preacher, wrote: "That which is in accord with the honoring of heaven and earth is the [system of] four classes: warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants. In their work they interpenetrate and mutually assist one another, so that they are the foundation for the ordering of all things … . All [from top to bottom] are fundamentally one." Trans. Royall Tyler, "The Tokugawa Peace and Popular Religion: Suzuki Shōzan, Kakugyō Tōbutsu, and Jikigyō Miroku," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Nosco, p. 115. A successful oil seller, Jikigyō dedicated himself to the Fuji cult. See also Ienaga Saburō et al., *Nihon shisō taikei*, vol. 69 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970–), p. 435.

101 Translation from Eiji Takemura, *The Perception of Work in Tokugawa Japan: A Study of Ishida Baigan and Ninomiya Sontoku* (Lanham, New York and Oxford: University Press of America, Inc., 1997), p. 26.

102 Centuries earlier, court scholar Ōe Masafusa (1041–1111), for example, had composed a list of occupations of commoners and nobles, including, among others, writing poetry, painting, and officiating at the court; Ōe, Zoku honchō ōjōden, in Amino Yoshihiko, "Chūsei no shokunin o megutte," in *Kinsei fūzoku zufu*, vol. 12, ed. Amino and Ishida, p. 63.

103 Yamane Yūzō, "Rikka yōshiki no sōzō," in *Ikebana bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1982), pp. 155–57.

104 See, for example, entries from 13th day, 1st month; 11th day, 5th month; and 7th day, 7th month, 1629, *Yasushigekyō-ki; Shiryō sōran*, vol. 3, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 1953–2004), pp. 130, 154, 163. See also Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, pp. 400–1.

105 See, for example, the entry from the 24th day, 1st month, 1630, *Yasushigekyō-ki*, p. 232.

106 For illustration of other illustrated handscrolls of *rikka*, see Yamane, *Ikebana bijutsu zenshū*. For reference by Hōrin Jōshō to an illustration of *rikka* arrangements by Senkō II, see the entry from the 4th day, 11th month, 1640, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, p. 264.

107 The scroll in the New York Public Library illustrates sixty-one arrangements created by Senkō II; inscriptions on the scroll indicate that the arrangements were created between 1629 and 1635 and were displayed in the Shishinden, as well as villas such as that of Konoe Nobuhiro, Go-Mizunoo's brother. Miyeko Murase, *Tales of Japan: Scrolls and Prints from the New York Public Library* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 199–202.

108 Yamane Yūzō, "Kan'ei jidai no Senkō no Rikka-zu ni tsuite," *Yamato bunka*, vol. 48 (February 1968), p. 16.

109 Entry from the 9th month, 1733, *Kaiki*; see Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 5 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1957–1962), p. 24. The *Kaiki* was written by an employee of Iehiro and contains eleven sections related to tea, flower arranging, and incense.

110 Sadafusa speaks of these in his diary, the *Kanmon gyoki*. Ōta Tōshirō, ed., *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 1, *Kanmon gyoki* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1958), pp. 6–9.

111 Theodore Ludwig, "Chanoyu and Momoyama: Conflict and Transformation in Rikyū's Art," in *Tea in Japan*, ed. Varley and Kumakura, p. 85.

112 Go-Yōzei granted Rikyū the title "*koji*," the lowest rank for Buddhist monks who are not yet priests but were recognized for religious reasons, presumably because Rikyū lacked aristocratic pedigree, and, according to palace custom, only individuals holding noble or religious rank were allowed into the emperor's presence.

113 Tanihata, "Chanoyu and the Imperial Court," pp. 45–50.

114 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 153; Morgan Pitelka, "Sen Kōshin Sōsa (1613–1672): Writing Tea History," in *Japanese Tea Culture*, pp. 87–88. While maintaining ties with a number of military lords, Sōtan was careful not to align himself with any one lord, apparently concerned lest his family again face the ostracism it had experienced when Hideyoshi ordered his grandfather's suicide.

115 Entry from the 3rd day, 4th month, 1649, *Matsuya kaiki*; see Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 9 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1957), p. 447. See also Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu," p. 155.

116 For more see, for example, Tanihata, "Chanoyu and the Imperial Court," pp. 45–50; Sen Sōsa, *Fushin'an denrai*

Genpaku Sōtan monjo (Tokyo: Cha to Bi Sha, 1971); Oka, "Karamonoya oboegaki: Ōhira Gohei to Katsuyama Chōji," in *Kan'ei bunka no nettowāku*, ed. Reizei, Oka, and Iwama, pp. 199–208. Hōrin also recorded his experiences locating and evaluating early samples of calligraphy, fueled in large part by the burgeoning tea culture; Kawashima Masao, "Social Contexts for the Practice of Collecting 'Ancient Calligraphy' (*Kohitsu*) in Medieval Japan," in *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, ed. Carpenter, p. 161.

117 For illustration of pieces from the Shugakuin kiln preserved in the Yamaguchi Bunkakan, see Nezu Bijutsukan, ed., *Go-Mizunoo tennō to sono shūhen*, p. 31. For other examples see Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kyūtei no bijutsu*, pp. 248–49, pls. 132–35; Kyōto-shi, ed., *Shiryō Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 288.

118 Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 136.

119 The inscription relates that retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo gave the water container to Sekkō Kōyū, the second abbot of Hōjōji, on the 13th day, 3rd month, 1670; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kyūtei no bijutsu*, p. 248.

120 Little documentary evidence is known to confirm this. Iguchi Kaisen, ed., *Chanoyu raiburari*, vol. 4, *Chashitsu no annai* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1968), pp. 32–33. Go-Mizunoo's teahouse at Sentō Gosho may have been one of the first built at the palace. The earliest known teahouse on imperial grounds, based on extant *dairi* plans, is one built in 1642.

121 One tea room that is said to be in the "style of Go-Mizunoo," in other words built for and possibly designed by Go-Mizunoo, is the Tōshintei dated to 1630, today in Yamazaki. For illustration, see Kawakami Mitsugu and Nakamura Masao, eds., *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu*, vol. 15, *Katsuragū to chaya* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1967), pl. 119. Another tea room that was constructed for Go-Mizunoo, but commissioned by Hōrin Jōshō and designed by Kanamori Sōwa, is the Sekkatei of Rokuonji.

122 Again, little documentary evidence is known to confirm this. Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Urasenke Konnichian* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1977), p. 209.

123 In Sōtan's letters (Genpaku Sōtan *monjo*) preserved at Fushin'an, he comments on his activities at court. In one letter addressed to his sons, Kōshin and Genshitsu, Sōtan mentions his exchange of gifts with Tōfukumon'in; see Sen Sōsa, ed., *Genpaku Sōtan monjo* (Tokyo: Chatobisha, 1971), p. 234; Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, pp. 153, 163; Chihara Hiromi, ed., *Genpaku Sōtan* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), p. 214.

124 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, pp. 153, 163. For illustration of the *daisu*, see Kagotani Machiko, *Josei no chanoyu* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1985), p. 95.

125 Entry 177, *Genpaku Sōtan monjo*; see Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 153. For illustration of the box, see Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Urasenke rekidai kōbutsushū*, pl. 98.

126 Hisada Sōya, "Tōkashō Shumpū," *Nihon bijutsu kōgei*, vol. 3, no. 642 (1991), pp. 46–49. For more on the *oshi-e*, see Fister, "Merōfu Kannon and Her Veneration," pp. 418–19.

127 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 162.

128 Ibid., pp. 162–63.

129 She owned among others several Chinese items, including a twelfth- or thirteenth-century celadon flower vase now in the Yōmei Bunko. For illustration, see Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Konoe-ke Yōmei Bunko no meihō* (Ishikawa: Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1988), pl. 92.

130 This pair of tea bowls once belonged to Masuda Takashi (Don'o; 1848–1938), director of the Mitsui financial conglomerate and art aesthete. Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 63.

131 Lillehoj, "The Early Kanamori Family and Tea," *Chanoyu Quarterly*, vol. 77 (Fall 1994), pp. 33–55.

132 Oka Yoshiko conveyed these thoughts on dating the pair of tea bowls by correspondence in March 2001.

133 Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu," p. 148.

134 Applying the terms "*kirei*" and "*kirei-sabi*" (beautiful rusticity) to tea is apparently a fairly recent phenomenon, but these terms do point to apparently a seventeenth-century tea taste inspired by courtly aesthetics. Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu," p. 147.

135 Ibid., p. 148.

136 For more on the seclusion of the palace leaders, see Berry, "Public Peace and Private Attachment," p. 247; Shimizu Katsuyaki, "Sengokuki ni okeru kinri kūkan to toshi minshū," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, vol. 426 (Feb. 1998), pp. 26–48.

137 See, for example, Nakamachi, "The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 80–81; Hayashi Susumu, "Soan no kiseki," in Suminokura Soan, ed., *Yamato Bunkakan*, pp. 4–15.

138 The Kawabata family collection includes several tea caddies supposedly once owned by Tōfukumon'in. For illustration, see Kyōto Bunka Hakubutsukan, ed., *Miyako no miyabi: Kinsei no kyūtei bunka ten*, pp. 168–76, 202.

139 The Chaya continued to supply fabric to Kyoto aristocrats, and a family member established a textile business in Edo. E. S. Crawcour, "Changes in Japanese Commerce in the Tokugawa Period," in *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, ed. John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 192–93.

140 An inscription on the box for a 1698 document by Fujimoto Ryōin (dates unknown), which once accompa-

nied the screens, states that Tōfukumon'in gave the screens to Chaya Shirōjirō. Narazaki, "Tosa Mitsuoki hitsu Ōka fūju-zu byōbu," pp. 393–96.

141 Yamane Yūzō, "Ogata Kōrin and the Art of the Genroku Era," *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 15 (1968), p. 71.

142 Christine Guth, "Textiles," in *Japan's Golden Age*, ed. Hickman, p. 276.

143 For a time after the death of Sōhaku in 1631, his son Sōho (1602–1660) managed the Kariganeya, but when Sōho died, Sōken (Sōho's half-brother) took over; Yamane, "Ogata Kōrin and the Art of the Genroku Era," p. 75.

144 For more on the order book entitled *Nyoin goshosama goyō gofuku kakiage chō*, see Yamane, *Konishike kyūzō Kōrin kankei shiryō to sono kenkyū*; Hanafusa, "Kariganeya Ishō zuanchō ni okeru mai-odori no ishō ni tsuite," pp. 21–33.

145 In his *Tōji nenjū gyōji* Go-Mizunoo mentions Kabuki as a form of palace entertainment, indicating it was still being performed at the *dairi* in the mid-seventeenth century; Go-Mizunoo, *Tōji nenjū gyōji*, p. 50. To cite a specific case, popular entertainers of Wakashū Kabuki performed for Go-Mizunoo, Tōfukumon'in, and other members of the imperial family at the Kogosho of the palace (a hall usually reserved for celebrating the coming-of-age rite of a crown prince, or receiving high-ranked visitors) on the 23rd day, 10th month, 1633; for more, see Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, p. 98.

146 Entry from the 11th day, 3rd month, 1660, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 4, p. 636–37. For more, see Nakamachi, "The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 87–88. For more on Kagenori, see Scott Alexander Lineberger, "The Politics of Poetics: Socioeconomic Tensions in Kyoto Waka Salons and Matsunaga Teitoku's Critique of Kinoshita Chōshōshi," *Early Modern Japan* (2010), pp. 103–25.

147 Hayashiya, *Kinsei dentō bunkaron*, p. 153.

148 Ibid. The term "warrior tea," or "*daimyō cha*," which is a modern designation, suggests that warrior lords of the early seventeenth century shared a single (or several) identifiable aesthetics of tea.

149 Sandy Kita refers to Go-Mizunoo as part of the *machishū*; Kita, *The Last Tosa*, pp. 142, 234. Inspired by the scholarship of Hayashiya in particular, Kita suggests that a connection existed between the *machishū* with their egalitarian impulses and Go-Mizunoo who had inherited a legacy of imperial struggle against warrior rule. Kita not only sees commoners freely associating with aristocrats in early seventeenth-century cultural settings, but he asserts that the *machishū* would have read poet paintings as following a "tradition of imperial rebellion against the shogunate" and he posits Go-Mizunoo's "similar struggle against the Tokugawa shogunate." (Kita, p. 204)

150 This gathering was held on the 18th day, 9th month, 1636; Tanihata Akio, "Kinri no chanoyu: Go-Mizunoo'in, Gosai'in, Gengensai," *Tankō* (April 1989).

151 Kumakura, *Go-Mizunoo tennō*, pp. 171–72.

152 For more, see Chapter 8.

153 Yamaguchi, "Kingship, Theatricality, and Marginal Reality in Japan," p. 174. While Yamaguchi does not present evidence for this interpretation, I consider his embracing theory to be useful in explaining the emperor's continued importance through the premodern period.

154 Ibid., p. 174.

155 Ibid., p. 151.

156 Andrew Goble, "Social Change, Knowledge, and History: Hanazono's Admonitions to the Crown Prince," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 55, no. 1 (June 1995), p. 65.

157 Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bunkashi*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shunshusha, 1970), pp. 203–9; trans. Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 246.

Chapter 8

1 Takenuki Genshō, *Nihon zenshūshi* (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1976), pp. 187–97; Helen J. Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 168–71; Butler, *Court and Bakufu in Early 17th-Century Japan*, pp. 201–6.

2 The former shogun settled for expelling the court's envoy to Edo, Nakanoin Michimura, who was a close associate of Go-Mizunoo.

3 This *waka kaishi* is introduced in an entry by John T. Carpenter in *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, ed. Hickman, p. 190; for illustration, see pl. 71.

4 Revised translation and comments provided directly to the author during the editing process by John T. Carpenter.

5 As literary historian Steven Carter points out, *waka* are almost always "a conventional response to a conventional theme." Carter, *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1996), p. 4.

6 Donald Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 8.

7 Entry from the 9th day, 11th month, 1629, *Yasushigekyō-ki*; Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, ed., *Shiryō sōran*, vol. 16, p. 226.

8 For more on the quandaries faced by Hidetada and Iemitsu, especially their relations with the court, see Asano with Jansen, "Shogun and Tennō," in *Japan Before Tokugawa*, ed. Hall, Nagahara, and Yamamura, pp. 264–69.

9 The Nyoin Gosho is now known as the Ōmiya Gosho. Only one original structure on the two compounds

likely survives: the Seikatei, a tea room at the south side of Sentō Gosho.

10 Hirai Kiyoshi, "Kinsei ni okeru Sentō Gosho no enkaku," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai ronbun hōkokushū*, vol. 61 (1959), pp. 143–50.

11 Related is the case of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who had maneuvered to have his wife named mother of the emperor. Yoshimitsu had not, however, arranged to marry his daughter to the monarch, as did Hidetada. Incidentally, no portrait of Meishō created during her lifetime is known to survive.

12 Nakamachi Keiko, *Fūzokuga*, vol. 12, *Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., pp. 110, 113; Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, Yamane Yūzō, and Takeda Tsuneo, eds., *Kinsei fūzoku zufu*, vol. 11, *Kuge-buke* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1983), pp. 10–15.

13 The placement of the two screens is sometimes reversed. The *Enthronement* screen is shown at left, for example, in Takeda et al., *Fūzokuga*, vol. 12, *Kōbu fūzoku*, pls. 29–30.

14 Ibid., p. 110.

15 On a slip of paper pasted in the left corner of the screen is written: "Naiben Higashidono Udaijin," which was the title of Nijō Yasumichi.

16 For more on these symbols in an earlier era, see Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650–800* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), p. 169.

17 *Tokugawa jikki*; see Nakamachi in *Fūzokuga*, vol. 12, *Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., pp. 110, 113, n. 6.

18 Tan'yū returned to Kyoto to paint at the imperial palace in 1629, and he would return three more times to decorate the interiors of new or refurbished buildings.

19 The brushwork and other formal features in the Nelson-Atkins Museum screens generally follow those employed by Tan'yū. In the lower right corner of one screen is a red seal with illegible characters, which may have been added later; Nakamachi in *Fūzokuga*, vol. 12, *Kōbu fūzoku*, ed. Takeda et al., p. 95.

20 This is the identification given for a nearly identical scene painted on one of a pair of screens preserved in the Imperial Household Collection; see Saitama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jotei: Meishō tennō to Shōgun Iemitsu*, pp. 8-9, pl. 1.

21 If this is a scene of Meishō visiting her parents, then it would have suggested that even in retirement the former emperor still exerted much influence as patriarch of the imperial family, able to call his daughter out of the *dairi* to visit him. And if this is Meishō visiting her parents, a model may have been the much smaller representation of the newly installed Emperor Nijō visiting his parents, which opens the first scroll of the Sumiyoshi copy of the *Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court* (introduced in Chapter 1, fig. 3).

22 One pair of screens is preserved in the Imperial Household Collection and another screen is found in a private collection in Hyōgo Prefecture. For illustration, see Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 2, *Kaiga*, pls. 5–8; Takeda, ed., *Fūzokuga*, vol. 12, *Kōbu fūzoku*, pls. 31–32. These screens may represent the enthronement of another of Go-Mizunoo's children. Hōrin Jōshō refers to a screen painting of an enthronement ceremony, presumably that of Emperor Go-Kōmyō held in the previous year; see the entry from the 15th day, 12th month, 1644, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 1, p. 642.

23 Nakamachi in *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 2, *Kaiga*, ed. Mainichi Shinbunsha, pp. 206–7.

24 As Sennyūji had for centuries served as one of the Buddhist temples dedicated to memorial services for emperors and empresses, the temple received a variety of imperial gifts, including paintings that had belonged to Meishō. For more, see Sennyūji, ed., *Kōshitsu no otera*, p. 134.

25 This screen bears no signature or seals and no known documents verify who painted it or when, but according to temple tradition it was painted by Kano Tan'yū. Saitama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jotei: Meishō tennō to Shōgun Iemitsu*, pp. 30–31, pl. 19.

26 Entry from the 6th day, 10th month, 1647, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 242–43.

27 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 185.

28 The letter is preserved in the Kyoto National Museum; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, p. 24, entry 19.

29 Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu," pp. 155–56.

30 Entry from the 3rd day, 4th month, 1649, *Matsuya kaiki*; see Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 9, p. 447.

31 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, pp. 380–81; see also Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, pp. 214–15.

32 For more, see Komatsu, ed., *Tōshōsha engi*; Sugahara, "The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto," pp. 70–74; Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, pp. 107–40.

33 Entry from the 27th day, 11th month, 1635, *Daiyū'in-dono gojikki*, annals of Iemitsu's shogunate, in *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 694–95; vol. 40, pp. 6–7.

34 Komatsu, *Tōshōsha engi*, pp. 175–76.

35 Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, p. 108.

36 Kang Hongjung, *Tongsarok*, in *Kaikō sōsai*, vol. 2 (Keijo: Chōsen Kosho Kankōkai, 1914), p. 256; trans. Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 70–71.

37 Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), p. 106.

38 *Enkōan gashū*; see Yamamoto Yūko, "Enkōan gashū gohen: Eiin to honkoku," *Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 10 (1987), p. 20; Lillehoj, "A Gift for

the Retired Empress," in *Acquisition*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 91–110.

39 That official may have been Hoshina Masayuki (d. 1672), half brother of Iemitsu and Tōfukumon'in, who had been named bakufu regent and enjoyed considerable influence.

40 Go-Kōmyō had been born to a woman named Mibuin Mitsuko (Kyōgoku-no-tsubone; 1602–1656). For more on Go-Kōmyō, see Kōshitsu Shiryō Hensankai, ed., *Nihon kōshitsu taikan* (Tokyo: Kokkai Hōdō Kishakai, 1978), pp. 520–22.

41 Sennyūji, ed., *Kōshitsu no otera*, p. 131, pl. 37.

42 Go-Kōmyō sponsored *dairi* lectures on Chinese scholarship; for example, he invited the Neo-Confucian scholar Asayama Irin'an (1589–1664) to the palace to lecture on the Doctrine of the Mean; Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, p. 153. Go-Kōmyō was supposedly less inclined toward poetic composition than his father, but he did compile many verses in the *Hoteishū* (The Phoenix Cry Collection). A number of his paintings too survive. Go-Kōmyō's paintings include *Wild Orchids* in the Imperial Household Collection; for illustration, see Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 5, *Shinkan*, pl. 63.

43 Robert Porter, *Japan: The Rise of a Modern Power* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 65.

44 Tsuji, *Nihon bunkashi*, vol. 5, pp. 203-9; see also Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, p. 246.

45 Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, pp. 115–16; Porter, *Japan: The Rise of a Modern Power*, p. 65. Ponsonby-Fane reports rumors of Go-Kōmyō being poisoned but concludes that they were unfounded; Ponsonby-Fane, *The Fortunes of the Emperors*, p. 314. Peter Martin suggests that Go-Kōmyō died of chickenpox; Martin, *The Chrysanthemum Throne: A History of the Emperors of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 104–5.

46 Gosai was one of ten children born to the emperor by Hōshunmon'in (1604–1685). For more on Gosai, see Kōshitsu Shiryō Hensankai, ed., *Nihon kōshitsu taikan*, pp. 523–25.

47 Sennyūji, ed., *Kōshitsu no otera*, p. 131, pl. 38.

48 Hirabayashi, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, p. 80. For more on Gosai, see Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, pp. 46, 134–49.

49 Gosai is known to have hosted over a hundred tea gatherings, and at these he often displayed centuries-old writings; Tanihata, "Chanoyu and the Imperial Court," p. 48.

50 Selections of his many *waka* and *renga* are assembled in *Suinichishū* (The Water Days Collection).

51 The *Kindai shūka* once belonged to the Katsuranomiya collection; Hirabayashi, *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, pp. 80–81.

52 Scholars remain unsure which royal hand, that of the father or the son, was responsible for certain unsigned documents, but Gosai's writing often surpasses even his father's in fluidity and elegance. In Gosai's album of *Japanese Poems by Teika in Ten Styles* (*Teika jittei waka*), each poem is written in a different style, revealing that Gosai, like his father and grandfather, had mastered a range of calligraphic manners. Hirabayashi, *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, pp. 82–83, entry 23. The Museum of the Imperial Collections also has several of Gosai's *waka* scrolls and selections of his inscriptions on religion and letters. Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō,* vol. 5, *Shinkan*, pls. 64–68.

53 Reigen's mother was the noble lady Shinkōgimon'in Kuniko (dates unknown). For more on Reigen, see Kōshitsu Shiryō Hensankai, ed., *Nihon kōshitsu taikan*, pp. 526–29; Kubo, *Tōfukumon'in Masako*, pp. 134–37.

54 Skilled at Chinese and Japanese poetic styles, his verse is assembled in the *Reigen'in gyoshū* (The Collection of Retired Emperor Reigen). Like Gosai before him, Reigen dedicated much time to collecting, copying, and preserving classical literary works. Reigen brought a renowned scholar of Japanese classical literature, Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736), to the court, enlisting him to teach poetry to the imperial offspring. Mainichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kōshitsu no shihō*, vol. 5, *Shinkan*, pls. 82–83.

55 Trans. Stephen Allee, in *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections*, Hirabayashi, p. 84, entry 24.

56 A number of works assigned to the hand of Meishō are found at Jūzenji, including a painting of *Tenjin Crossing the Sea to Tang China*, which captures the divine form of Sugawara no Michizane. Saitama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Jotei: Meishō tennō to Shōgun Iemitsu*, p. 21, pl. 13. Other extant paintings by Meishō include the *Splashed Ink Landscape* (*Haboku sansui-zu*) in a private collection in Osaka. Patricia Fister, *Kinsei no josei gakkatachi: Bijutsu to jenda* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1994), p. 193, pl. 63. Meishō also made the *oshi-e* of *Tenjin Crossing the Sea to Tang China*, preserved at Kōshōji and discussed in Chapter 5 (fig. 59). These works are undated, and whether Meishō was creating images such as this while still a young female monarch is not clear.

57 For more, see Carpenter, ed., *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection*, pp. 132–33.

58 Three of Go-Mizunoo's daughters—Daitsū Bunchi, Shōzan Gen'yō, and Sōchō Joō—were founding abbesses of aristocratic convents (*bikuni gosho*): Enshōji, Rinkyūji, and Reikanji, respectively. Two other daughters entered the nunnery of Hōkyōji.

59 Patricia Fister, "Creating Devotional Art with Body Fragments: The Buddhist Nun Bunchi and Her Father, Emperor Go-Mizuno-o," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3–4 (Fall 2000), pp. 213–38.

60 Fister et al., *Amamonzeki jiin no sekai*, p. 96.
61 Bunchi remained close to her father into adulthood, and after the dissolution of her marriage to Takatsukasa Norihira (1609–1668), she became a Rinzai nun.
62 Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, p. 363.
63 A comparable piece, also preserved at Enshōji, invokes the compassion of Amida. It is illustrated in Fister, *Amamonzeki to nisō no bijutsu*, pp. 54–55, pl. 11. Another similar item is preserved at Gyokuhōin of Myōshinji, Kyoto. There is also a small circular piece of fabric on which Bunchi constructed a character from the emperor's fingernail clippings; this is the Chinese character "*Nin*" (Perseverance), the same character that Go-Mizunoo once brushed, preserved at Shōgo'in (fig. 44). See Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kan'ei no hana*, pl. 131, p. 148.
64 Moreover, a small pile of earth at a corner of the temple grounds of Shōkokuji in Kyoto is identified as the nail mound (*tsumezuka*) of Go-Mizunoo, officially recognized as an imperial tomb, and thus under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Household Agency.
65 Hora Tomio, *Tennō fushinsei no kigen* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1979), pp. 93–123. See also Wakabayashi, "Imperial Sovereignty," p. 31.
66 Seigle, "Shinanomiya Tsuneko: Portrait of a Court Lady," p. 8.
67 Entry from the 6th day, 10th month, 1647, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 242–43.
68 Prince Dōkō lived at this mountain retreat at Hase from 1620. Early on the morning of the 6th day, 10th month, 1647, Go-Mizunoo and Tōfukumon'in stopped by here while on an outing to collection *matsutake* mushrooms. Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, pp. 184–85.
69 Entry from the 22nd day, 2nd month, 1648, *Kakumei-ki*, vol. 2, p. 316.
70 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 185.
71 Kumakura Isao, "Go-Mizunoo'in to Shugakuin Rikyū," *Kokka*, vol. 1317 (2005), pp. 15–24.
72 Kobayashi Tadashi, "Shugakuin-zu byōbu," *Kokka*, vol. 1317 (2005), pp. 25–28.
73 Tomioka, *The Kyoto Imperial Palace and Imperial Villas*, p. 26.
74 Machida Kaori, "Go-Mizunoo'in no saron," *Randosukepu kenkyū*, vol. 69, no. 5 (2006), pp. 343–48.
75 Several seventeenth-century buildings, including some in the *sukiya* style, can be found at Shugakuin, as can the original pathways, ponds, and views with borrowed scenery (*shakkei*).
76 Scholars typically identify this as the former Inner Reception Hall (Okutaimenjo) of Tōfukumon'in, although some consider it to have been her dressing chambers (Okeshōden). It and other buildings were moved to Shugakuin about 1682; Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no rekishi*, vol. 5, p. 187. The building then served as the Reception Hall (Kyakuden) of Rinkyūji, the nunnery founded by Go-Mizunoo's daughter Shōzan Gen'yō. Much later, the building was incorporated into the Middle Garden of the Shugakuin villa-and-garden complex.
77 Lillehoj, "Uses of the Past: Gion Float Painting as Instruments of Classicism," in *Critical Perspectives on Classicism*, ed. Lillehoj, pp. 187–206.
78 Another possibility is that the artist was Kano Nobumasa (1607–1658). Shōren'in and the British Museum have doors with Gion Floats similar to the Shugakuin door paintings discussed here; Timothy Clark in *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15th–19th Centuries*, Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere (New York: Japan Society, 2002), pp. 282–85; Timothy Clark and Kawamoto Keiko, "Kanō Geki (Atsunobu) hitsu Gion sairei yamaboko junkō sugido," *Kokka*, vol. 1317 (2005), pp. 29–34.
79 Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and Chanoyu," p. 159.

Chapter 9

1 Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 173.

Appendix 1

Emperors and Reigning Empresses

Note: This list is restricted to names of monarchs mentioned in the main text.

Tenmu (631–686; r. 673–686)
*Shōtoku (718–770; r. 764–770)
Kanmu (737–806; r. 781–806)
Saga (786–842; r. 810–823)
Seiwa (850–880; r. 858–876)
Kōkō (830–887; r. 884–887)
Shirakawa (1053–1129; r. 1073–1087)
Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192; r. 1155–1158)
Nijō (1143–1165; r. 1158–1165)
Takakura (1161–1181; r. 1168–1180)
Juntoku (1197–1242; r. 1210–1221)
Shijō (1231–1242; r. 1232–1242)
Fushimi (1265–1317; r. 1288–1298)
Hanazono (1297–1348; r. 1308–1318)
Go-Daigo (1288–1339; r. 1318–1339)
Kōgon (1313–1364; r. 1332–1333)
Go-Kōgon (1338–1374; r. 1352–1371)
Go-Komatsu (1377–1433; r. 1382–1412)
Go-Hanazono (1419–1470; r. 1428–1464)
Go-Tsuchimikado (1442–1500; r. 1464–1500)
Go-Kashiwabara (1464–1526; r. 1500–1526)
Go-Nara (1496–1557; r. 1526–1557)
Ōgimachi (1517–1593; r. 1557–1586)
Go-Yōzei (1571–1617; r. 1586–1611)
Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680; r. 1611–1629)
*Meishō (1623–1696; r. 1630–1643)
Go-Kōmyō (1633–1654; r. 1643–1654)
Gosai (1637–1685; r. 1654–1663)
Reigen (1654–1732; r. 1663–1687)
Taishō (1879–1926; r. 1912–1926)

*Names of reigning empresses

Appendix 2

Members of the Imperial Family

Note: This list is restricted to names of members of the imperial family mentioned in the main text. *Shinnō* = prince; *Hōshinnō* = tonsured prince; *Naishinnō* = princess; Joō = *tonsured* princess.

Emperor Ōgimachi (1517–1593; r. 1557–1586)
Eldest son:
Sanehito Shinnō (Masahito; 1552–1586)
Children:
1st: Emperor Go-Yōzei (Katahito; 1571–1617; r. 1586–1611)
2nd: Hachijōnomiya Toshihito (Kosamaru Shinnō; 1579–1629)

Emperor Go-Yōzei (1571–1617; r. 1586–1611)
Children:
1st: Kakujin Hōshinnō (1588–1648; entered Ninnaji)
3rd: Jōkai Shinnō (Kōshō; 1591–1609)
6th: Seishi Naishinnō (1593–1674)
7th: Emperor Go-Mizunoo (Kotohito, Enjō; 1596–1680; r. 1611–1629)
8th: Konoe Nobuhiro (Ōzan; 1599–1649; adopted by Konoe Nobutada)
9th: Sonshō Hōshinnō (1602–1651; entered Daikakuji)
10th: Gyōnen Hōshinnō (1602–1661; entered Myōhōin)
12th: Ryōjun Hōshinnō (1604–1669; entered Chion'in)
13th: Ichijō Akiyoshi (Kanetō; Akira; Ekan; 1605–1672)
19th: Dōkō Hōshinnō (1612–1679; entered Shōgoin)

Emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680; r. 1611–1629)
Children:
1st: Kamonomiya (Wakanomiya; 1618–1622)
2nd: Daitsū Bunchi (Umenomiya; 1619–1697; entered Enshōji)
3rd: Empress Regnant Meishō (1623–1696; r. 1630–1643)
4th: Teruko Naishinnō (1625–1651; married Konoe Hisatsugu)
7th: Akiko Naishinnō (1629–1675)
8th: Rishō Joō (Kugen Zeni; 1631–1656; entered Hōkyōji)
9th: Gashi Naishinnō (1632–1696; married Nijō Mitsuhira)
10th: Emperor Go-Kōmyō (1633–1654; r. 1643–1654)
13th: Shōzan Gen'yō (Mitsuko; Akenomiya; 1634–1727; entered Rinkyūji)
17th: Shōshō Hōshinnō (1637–1678; entered Ninnaji)
18th: Genshō Joō (1637–1662; entered Daishōji)
19th: Emperor Gosai (1637–1685; r. 1654–1663)
20th: Sōchō Joō (Taninomiya; 1639–1678; entered Reikanji)
21st: Seishin Hōshinnō (1639–1696; entered Daikakuji)
23rd: Gyōjo Hōshinnō (1640–1695; entered Myōhōin)
25th: Richū Joō (1641–1689; entered Hōkyōji)
26th: Tsuneko Naishinnō (Shinanomiya; 1642–1702; married Konoe Motohiro)
27th: Hachijō Shinnō (Onjin; 1643–1665; adopted into Hachijōnomiya family line)
32nd: Shinkei Hōshinnō (1649–1707; entered Ichijōin of Kōfukuji, Nara)
33rd: Sonshō Hōshinnō (1651–1694; entered Shōren'in)
35th: Emperor Reigen (1654–1732; r. 1663–87)
37th: Eikyō Joō (Tamanomiya; 1657–1686; entered Daishōji)

Appendix 3

Imperial Palace Documents, Buildings, and Panel Paintings

Note: Restricted to works surviving from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mentioned in chapters.

Palace of Ōgimachi, 1584–1585.

Palace of Go-Yōzei, ca. 1590.

Documents:

1. *Oyudononoue no nikki* (Records of the Chief of the Imperial Housekeeping Office), reference to Go-Yōzei viewing the progress of Kano Eitoku on paintings for his new palace, 6th month of 1590 (*Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 8, p. 319).
2. *Haretoyo nikki* (Diary of Kajūji Haretoyo, 1544–1602/3), entries from the 8th and 9th months, 1590, reference to paintings by Kano Eitoku and Mitsunobu at Go-Yōzei's palace (*Haretoyo nikki*, pp. 272–73).

Extant building:

1. possibly the Seiryōden of Go-Yōzei's palace (or the Taimenjo of Ōgimachi's palace), moved and remodeled as the Chief Abbott's Quarters of Nanzenji, Kyoto in 1611 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 387–92).

Extant sections of painting:

1. *Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety* (fig. 10) and *Immortals* (fig. 11), twelve sliding-door panels, attributed to artists in the workshop of Kano Eitoku or Mitsunobu, possibly from the Seiryōden of Go-Yōzei's palace (or the Taimenjo of Ōgimachi's palace), moved and incorporated into the Ohiru-no-ma of the Chief Abbot's Quarters of Nanzenji, Kyoto, late sixteenth century (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 392–95).

Retirement palace of Shinjōtōmon'in (Kajūji Haruko, 1555–1620), mother of Go-Yōzei

Extant sections of painting:

Chinese Court Ladies and Children (sliding-door panels, figs. 12–13), attributed to artists in the workshop of Kano Eitoku or Kano Mitsunobu, moved and incorporated into the Narutaki-no-ma of the Chief Abbott's Quarters of Nanzenji, Kyoto, about 1601 (Yamane, *Shōhekiga zenshū*, vol. 7, *Nanzenji Honbō*).

Palace of Go-Mizunoo, "The Palace of the Keichō Era" (1596–1615)

Documents:

1. *Keichōdō gozōei dairi onsashi-zu* (Instructions Regarding Palace Construction of the Keichō Era), a plan of buildings, in the Imperial Household collection, ca. 1610–1614 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pl. 4).
2. *Kinchū goi no gosho-sama oboe* (Memo on Orders Received about the Palace of the Emperor), reference to twenty-five themes of panel painting in ten buildings at the palace of Go-Mizunoo, painted by Kano Takanobu and other Kano artists, 1613 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 178–79).
3. *Ichionbō kenjō hinamiki* (Daily Record of the Ichionbō Kenjō), reference to buildings from the Keichō Palace that were moved to Ninnaji, Kyoto, about 1642 (Kawamoto, Kawamoto, and Miura, "Kenjō no shōji no kenkyū," pp. 9–28).

Extant buildings:

1. Shishinden, 1612–1614 (dismantled and moved about 1642, remodeled as the Golden Hall [Kondō] of Ninnaji, Kyoto, fig. 30) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 395–98).
2. Seiryōden (dismantled and moved about 1642, remodeled as the Founder's Portrait Hall [Mieidō] of Ninnaji, Kyoto) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 398).

Extant sections of painting:

1. *Thirty-two Chinese Sages* (sixteen panels, fig. 31), *Pines* (two panels) and *Chinese Lion and Shrine Guardian Dog* (two panels, fig. 32), by Kano Takanobu, for the Shishinden, which was later remodeled as the Golden Hall of Ninnaji, Kyoto, ca. 1614.
2. *Peonies* (four panels, fig. 36), attributed to Kano Takanobu, perhaps painted for the Final Chamber (Suezue-no-ma) of the Seiryōden, which was later

remodeled as the Founder's Portrait Hall of Ninnaji, Kyoto, ca. 1614.

3. *Tang Figures* (two-panel folding screen, fig. 37), attributed to Kano Takanobu, remounted from sliding-door panels, perhaps painted for the Upper Chamber (Jōdan-no-ma) of the Seiryōden or the Tsunegoten, Ninnaji, Kyoto, ca. 1614.

The Empress's Palace (of Tōfukumon'in), "The Palace of the Genna Era" (1615–1624)

Documents:

1. *Genna nenjū kinchū onna goyō gotaimen goten* (Palace of the Empress of the Genna Era), an annotated diagram with reference to panel paintings by Kano artists created in 1619 for the Taimenjo, a building for formal reception of visitors at the Empress's Palace, 1619 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 179, and Takeda, *Kanō-ha kaigashi*, p. 441).
2. *Onna Ninomiya-sama onsashi-zu* (Diagram of the Second Princess' Quarters), a floor plan identifying the themes of paintings from the Gosato Gosho, or temporary palace structure, ca. 1636 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, p. 187).

Extant buildings:

1. Tsunegoten (likely dismantled, moved, and remodeled as the Shinden of Daikakuji, Kyoto, fig. 48) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 398–404).
2. Otsubone (dismantled and moved about 1647, remodeled as the Shinden of Enman'in, Onjōji, Shiga) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 404–24).
3. Shinden (dismantled and moved about 1682, remodeled as the Shinden of Shōren'in, Kyoto, lost to fire in the modern period) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 398–404).
4. A small structure from a garden in front of the Kogosho (dismantled and moved about 1641, remodeled as a shrine at Rinshōin, Myōshinji, Kyoto) (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 422–24).
5. Sōjadokoro (dismantled and moved around 1641, and remodeled as the Daishoin of Myōhōin, Kyoto).

Extant sections of painting:

Peonies (sliding-door panels, figs. 50–51), attributed to Kano Sanraku, likely for the Tsunegoten of the Palace of Tōfukumon'in, later remodeled as the Shinden of Daikakuji, Kyoto, 1619–1620.

Blossoming Red Plum (sliding-door panels, fig. 52, attributed to Kano Sanraku, likely for the Tsunegoten of the Palace of Tōfukumon'in, later remodeled as the Shinden of Daikakuji, Kyoto, 1619–1620.

New Year Festivities at Sumiyoshi Shrine (alcove, shelves, and sliding-door panels, fig. 53), attributed to Kano Sadanobu, for the Otsubone of the Palace of Tōfukumon'in, later remodeled as the Shinden of Enman'in, Onjōji, Shiga; now Kyoto National Museum, 1619–1620 (Fujioka, *Kyōto gosho*, pp. 412–16).

Pine Beach (sliding-door panels, fig. 54), attributed to Kano Sadanobu, likely for the Shinden of the Palace of Tōfukumon'in, later remodeled as the Shinden of Shōren'in, Kyoto, 1619–1620.

Ink Landscape (sliding-door panels), attributed to Kano Sadanobu, for a small structure on the grounds of Rinshōin, Myōshinji.

Palace of Go-Kōmyō, 1641–1643

Palace of Gosai, 1653–1656

Palace of Reigen, 1662

Palace of the Retired Empress (Nyoin Gosho) of Tōfukumon'in, 1676–1678

Extant building:

Inner Reception Hall (or the Dressing Chambers) of the Nyoin Gosho of Tōfukumon'in (dismantled, moved, and eventually remodeled as the Shugakuin Reception Hall).

Extant section of painting:

Gion Floats (two sides of a pair of cedar doors, fig. 98), attributed to Kano Atsunobu, from the Shugakuin Reception Hall, Imperial Household Agency, Kyoto Office, 1676–1677.

Appendix 4

List of Chinese Characters

A
Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神
Andō Shigenaga 安藤重長
aoi 葵
aoimon 葵紋
Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平
Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政
Asaoka Okisada 朝岡興禎
Ashikaga (shogunal clan) 足利
  Takauji 尊氏
  Yoshiaki 義昭
  Yoshiharu 義晴
  Yoshimasa 義政
  Yoshimitsu 義満
  Yoshimochi 義持
  Yoshinori 義教
Azuchi 安土
azukari 預

B
bakufu 幕府
bettō 別当
bikuni gosho 比丘尼御所
biwa 琵琶
bodaiji 菩提寺
bokuseki 墨跡
Botan-no-ma 牡丹の間
Buke shohatto 武家諸法度
buke tensō 武家伝奏
buppō 仏法
byōbu 屏風

C
chakin 茶巾
chanoyu 茶湯
chashitsu 茶室
Chaya 茶屋
Chaya Shirōjirō 茶屋四郎次郎
chirashi-gaki 散らし書き
Chōgonka 長恨歌
chōkin gyōkō 朝覲行幸
chokusho 勅書
Chūdan-no-ma 中段間
chūgū 中宮
Chūgū Goten 中宮御殿
Chūkamon'in 中和門院
Chūwain 中和院
Chūyō 中庸

D
Daibutsuden 大仏殿
daidan 大檀
Daigaku 大学
Daigo hanami 醍醐花見
Daigoji 醍醐寺
daijō daijin 太政大臣
Daikakuji 大覚寺
daimyō 大名
daimyō-cha 大名茶
dainagon 大納言
dainagon no suke no tsubone
  大納言佐局
dairi 内裏
Daitokuji 大徳寺
Daitsū Bunchi 大通文智
daizenshiki 大膳職
Date (warrior family) 伊達
  Masamune 政宗
  Munemoto 宗基
Dattanjin 韃靼人
denju 伝授
dōgu 道具
Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝
Dōkō 道晃

E
eboshi 烏帽子
Edo 江戸
edokoro azukari 絵所預
Eigenji 永源寺
Ekan Sansō 恵観山荘
ema 絵馬
emaki 絵巻
Engi shiki 延喜式
Enman'in 円満院
Enshōji 円照寺
eya 絵屋
ezōshiya 絵双紙屋

F
Fujiwara (courtier family) 藤原
  Kintō 公任
  Mitsunaga 光長
  Teika 定家
Funabashi Hidekata 舟橋秀賢
funeboko 船鉾
Furuta Oribe 古田織部
fusuma 襖
fūzokuga 風俗画

G
gagaku 雅楽
gaku 額
Gedan-no-ma 下段の間
gekokujō 下克上
gengō 元号
Genji-e 源氏絵
Genji monogatari 源氏物語
Genji monogatari emaki
  源氏物語絵巻
Genna 元和
genpuku 元服
Genroku 元禄
Gion matsuri 祇園祭
Gion sairei boko 祇園祭礼鉾
Go-Daigo 後醍醐
godai myōō 五大明王

gofukubako 呉服箱
gofun 胡粉
Gogakumonkō 御学問講
Go-Hanazono 後花園
Go-Kashiwabara 後柏原
Go-Komatsu 後小松
Go-Kōmyō 後光明
Go-Mizunoo 後水尾
Go-Nara 後奈良
Gosai 後西
go-sekke 五摂家
Go-Shirakawa 後白河
goshozome 御所染め
Gotō 五島
Go-Toba 後鳥羽
Go-Tsuchimikado 後土御門
goyō eshi 御用絵師
Go-Yōzei 後陽成
gozan 五山
Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王
Gyōkō Goten 御幸御殿
Gyōnen 尭然
gyōsho 行書

H

Hachijōnomiya (courtier family) 八条宮
  Toshihito 智仁
  Toshitada 智忠
haikai 俳諧
haikai no renga 俳諧の連歌
hakuzō 白象
hameita 羽目板
hanaire 花入れ
Hasegawa Tōhaku 長谷川等伯
Hayashi Razan 林羅山
Heian 平安
hengaku 扁額
hiden 秘伝
hina asobi 雛遊び
hina matsuri 雛祭り
hinoki 檜
Hino Sukekatsu 日野資勝
Hirohashi Kanekatsu 広橋兼勝
hōgen 法眼
hōin 法印
hōjō 方丈
Hoke-kyō (or Hokke-kyō) 法華経
Hokke 法華
hokkyō 法橋
hoko 鉾
Hōkoku Daimyōjin 豊国大明神
Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦
Honchō gashi 本朝画史
Honda Tadatoki 本多忠刻
Hondō 本堂
Honganji bunsho 本願寺文書
Honkō kokushi nikki 本光国師日記
honzon 本尊
hōō 法皇
hōren 鳳輦
Hōrin Jōshō 鳳林承章
hōshinnō 法親王
Hosokawa (warrior family) 細川
  Fujitaka 藤孝
  Yūsai 幽斎
Hōzō 宝蔵
Hyakunin isshu 百人一首

I

Ichijō Kanetō (Kanera) 一条兼良
Ichi-no-ma 一の間
ie 家
iemoto 家元
Igarashi Dohō 五十嵐道甫
ihai 位牌
Ikenobō Senkō 池坊専好
insei 院政
Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮
Ise monogatari 伊勢物語
Ise odori 伊勢踊り
ishibaidan 石灰壇
Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝
Isshi Monju 一糸文守
Itakura (warrior family) 板倉
  Katsushige 勝重
  Shigemune 重宗
Itsukushima 厳島
Iwakura 岩倉
Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛

J

Jidai fudō uta-awase 時代不同歌合
Jiin hatto 寺院法度
Jikigyō Miroku 食行身禄
jindai 神代
Jindai no maki 神代巻
Jinnō shōtō-ki 神皇正統記
Jōdan-no-ma 上段の間
jōkō 上皇
jotei 女帝
Jubokushō 入木抄
jūni hitoe 十二単
junji chakai 順次茶会
junshi 殉死
Jurakutei 聚楽第

K

Kabuki 歌舞伎
kabukimono 歌舞伎者 (傾奇者)
kachōga 花鳥画
Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満
kai 会
kai awase 貝合わせ
Kaihō Yūshō 海北友松
Kaiki 会記
kaioke 貝桶
kaisho 楷書
Kajūji (courtier family) 勧修寺
  Haretoyo 晴豊
  Haruko 晴子
  Tsunehiro 経広
kakemono 掛物
Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂
Kakumei-ki 隔蓂記
Kamakura 鎌倉
kami 神
kana 仮名
Kanamori (warrior family) 金森
  Sōwa 宗和
  Yoshishige 可重
Kanbun 寛文
Kan'ei 寛永
Kan'ei bunka 寛永文化
Kan'ei gyōkō 寛永行幸
Kan'ei gyōkō-ki 寛永行幸記
kanga 漢画
Kangakubun 勧学文
kanji 漢字
Kanō (or Kano; artist family) 狩野
  Atsunobu 敦信
  Einō 永納
  Eitoku 永徳
  Ikkei 一渓
  Jinnojō 甚之丞
  Kōi 興以
  Masanobu 正信
  Mitsunobu 光信
  Motonobu 元信
  Naganobu 長信
  Naonobu 尚信
  Nobumasa 信正
  Sadanobu 偵信
  Sanraku 山楽
  Sansetsu 山雪
  Sōshū 宗周
  Takanobu 孝信
  Tan'yū 探幽
  Tsunenobu 章信
  Yasunobu 安信

kanpaku 関白
Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長
kanzen chōaku 勧善懲悪
kara 唐
karabitsu 唐櫃
kara-e 唐絵
karahafu 唐破風
karamono 唐物
Karashishi 唐獅子
Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広
Kariganeya 雁金屋
Kasuga no Tsubone 春日局
Katsura Rikyū 桂離宮
Keian 慶安
Keichō 慶長
Keichō chokuhan 慶長勅版
Keikōin 桂光院
Kenjō no shōji (or *Kenjō no sōji*)
  賢聖障子
Kimura Nagamitsu 木村永光
Kinchū narabi ni kuge shohatto
  禁中並公家諸法度
kinpeki shōhekiga 金碧障壁画
Kinpishō 禁秘抄
kirigami 切り紙
kirin 麒麟
kiroku-ga 記録画
Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮
Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師
Kobori Enshū 小堀遠州
kōbu fūzoku 公武風俗
Kobun kōkyō 古文孝経
Kōchō ruien 皇朝類苑
Kōdaiji 高台寺
Koga bikō 古画備考
kōgō 皇后
kohitsu 古筆
Kojiki 古事記
Kokin denju 古今伝授
Kokinshū 古今集
Kokon chomonjū 古今著聞集
koku 穀
Konchi'in 金地院
Kongōkai mandara 金剛界曼荼羅
Konkōmyō-kyō 金光明経
Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō
  金光明最勝王経
Konoe (courtier family) 近衛
  Hisatsugu 尚嗣
  Iehiro 家熙
  Motohiro 基熙
  Nobuhiro 信尋
  Nobutada 信尹
  Sakihisa 前久
  Sakiko 前子
konrei chōdo 婚礼調度
Kose no Kanaoka 巨勢金岡
Kōshōji 興聖寺
kōtaigō 皇太后
koten 古典
koten fukkō 古典復興
koto 琴
kotodama 言霊
Kotohito 政仁
kōtō no naishi 勾当内侍
kuchikiri chakai 口切茶会
kuden 口伝
kuge 公家
Kuge shohatto 公家諸法度
Kujō 九条
Kujō Kaneharu 九条兼晴
Kūkai 空海
Kuroda Nagamasa 黒田長政
Kurokawa (scholar family) 黒川
  Harumura 春村
  Mayori 真頼
Kuwanomidera 桑実寺
Kyō Kanō 京狩野
Kyōōgokokuji 教王護国寺
Kyōto 京都
Kyōtoku 京極

M

machi-eshi 町絵師
machishū 町衆
Maeda (warrior family) 前田
  Gen'i 玄以
  Toshitsune 利常
  Tsunanori 綱紀
maki-e 蒔絵
Manji 万治
man'yōgana 万葉仮名
Man'yōshū 万葉集
matsu 松
matsuri 祭り
meibutsu 名物
Meiji 明治
Meishō 明正
meisho-e 名所絵
Merōfu 馬郎婦
Mibu Harutomi 壬生晴富
Mibuin Mitsuko 壬生院光子
michi 道
Mieidō 御影堂
migushiage 御髪上げ
Mikkyō 密教
mikoshi 神輿
Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝
misai-e 御斎会
mishuhō 御修法
mizusashi 水差し
Momoyama 桃山
monogatari 物語
monzeki 門跡
Mōri 毛利
muge 無碍
Mujōhōin-dono gonikki
  無上法院殿御日記
Murai Sadakatsu 村井貞勝
Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部
Muromachi 室町
mushibarai 虫払
mushiboshi 虫干し
Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石
Myōhōin 妙法院
Myōshinji 妙心寺

N

Nagoyajō 名古屋城
naidaijin 内大臣
Naishidokoro 内侍所
naishinnō 内親王
Nakai Masakiyo 中井正清
Nakanoin (courtier family) 中院
  Michikatsu 道勝
  Michimura 通村
  Michishige 通茂
Nange Genkō 南化玄興
Nankōbō Tenkai 南光坊天海
Nanzenji 南禅寺
Narutaki 鳴滝
nenjū gyōji 年中行事
Nenjū gyōji emaki 年中行事絵巻
Nichiren 日蓮
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
Nijō (courtier family) 二条
  Akizane 昭実
  Haruyoshi 晴良
  Mitsuhira 光平
  Tsunahira 綱平
Nijōjō 二条城
Nijōjō gyōkō-ki 二条城行幸記
Nijū shikō 二十四孝
Nijūshishō kōkōroku
  二十四章孝行之録
Nikkō Tōshōgū 日光東照宮
ningyō 人形
Ninnaji 仁和寺
Ninomaru Goten 二の丸御殿
Nonomura Ninsei 野々村仁清
nyōbō hoshō 女房奉書
nyōgo 女御

Nyōgo Gosho 女御御所
nyoi hōju 如意宝珠
nyoin (or *nyōin*) 女院
Nyoin Gosho 女院御所
Nyoin Goten 女院御殿

O
Ōbaku 黄檗
obentō お弁当
ōchō dentō 王朝伝統
Oda Nobunaga 織田信長
Ogata (artist family) 尾形
  Kenzan 乾山
  Kōrin 光琳
  Sōhaku 宗柏
ōgi 扇
Ōgimachi 正親町
ōgosho 大御所
Ōhōjō 大方丈
Okina 翁
oku eshi 奥絵師
okyō お経
Ōmura Yūko 大村由己
Omuro 御室
Ōnin 応仁
Onjōji 園城寺
Ono no Komachi 小野小町
Ono no Tōfū 小野道風
Ōoku 大奥
oshi-e 押し絵
Ōshikyō 王子喬
Ōta Gyūichi 太田牛一
Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟
Otsubone お局
oyudono 御湯殿
Oyudononoue no nikki 御湯殿上日記

R
raden 螺鈿
rakuchū rakugai-zu byōbu
  洛中洛外図屏風
ranma 欄間
Reigen 霊元
renga 連歌
rikka 立花
Rinpa 琳派
Rinshōin 麟祥院
Rinzai 臨済
ritsuryō 律令
Rokuonji 鹿苑寺
Rokuon nichiroku 鹿苑日録
rōnin 浪人

S
sadaijin 左大臣
Saigyō monogatari emaki
  西行物語絵巻
saijin 才人
Sakai 堺
Sakai Tadakiyo 酒井忠清
Sanbōin 三宝院
Sanjōnishi (courtier family) 三条西
  Saneeda 実条
  Sanetaka 実隆
Sanjūrokuninshū 三十六人集
Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂
Sannomaru Shōzōkan 三之丸尚蔵館
Sannomiya 三宮
sato dairi 里内裏
Seiryōden 清涼殿
Sekigahara 関が原
Sekiya Miotsukushi-zu byōbu
  関屋澪標図屏風
sekku 節句
Sen (tea master family) 千
  Rikyū 利休
  Sōtan 宗旦
Sengoku jidai 戦国時代
senmen 扇面
sennin 仙人
Sennyūji 泉涌寺
Senso 践祚
Sentō Gosho 仙洞御所
seppuku 切腹
sesshō 摂政
sharitō 舎利塔
Shibayama Nobutoyo 芝山宣豊
shie 紫衣
Shie jiken 紫衣事件
Shi jing 詩経
shikinen sengū 式年遷宮
shikishi 色紙
Shinden 宸殿
Shinden 寝殿
shinden-zukuri 寝殿造
shingō 神号
Shingon 真言
Shingon'in 真言院
Shinjōtōmon'in 新上東門院
Shinkokinshū 新古今集
shinkoku 神国
shinnō 親王
Shishinden 紫宸殿
Shisho 四書
shōchoku 詔勅
Shōgoin 聖護院
shōgun 将軍
shōheiga 障屏画
Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗
Shōkokuji 相国寺
Shokugenshō 職原抄
shōnin 上人
Shōren'in Sonjun 青蓮院尊純
Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子
Shōzan Gen'yō 照山元瑤
Shugakuin 修学院
Shu jing 書経
Shun'oku Sōen 春屋宗園
Sōami 相阿弥
sōbugyō 総奉行
Sokui 即位
Song 宗
Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真
Sūgen'in 崇源院
suibokuga 水墨画
sukiya 数寄屋
Suminokura Soan 角倉素安
Sumiyoshi (artist family) 住吉
  Gukei 具慶
  Jokei 如慶

T
Tachibana Narisue 橘成季
taikō 太閤
Taishō 大正
Taitokuin gojikki 台徳院御実記
Taizōkai mandara 胎蔵界曼荼羅
Takagamine 鷹峯
Takakura Nagayoshi 高倉永慶
takamikura 高御座
Takatsukasa (courtier family) 鷹司
  Fusasuke 房輔
  Nobuko 信子
  Norihira 教平
Tanabata 七夕
Tang 唐
Tansei jakubokushū 丹青若木集
Tanshin Morimasa 探信守政
tanzaku 短冊
Tawaraya 俵屋
Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達
Teikanzu 帝鑑図
Teikan zusetsu 帝鑑図説
tekagami 手鑑
Tendai 天台
tenka taihei 天下泰平
tennō 天皇
tenrin-shōō 天輪聖王
Tenshō-ki 天正記
tenshu 天守
Tōdai-ki 当代記

Tōfukumon'in Masako
東福門院和子
Tōji 東寺
Tokitsugukyō-ki 言継郷記
tokonoma 床の間
Tokugawa (shogunal clan) 徳川
Hidetada 秀忠
Iemitsu 家光
Ienobu 家宣
Ietsuna 家綱
Ieyasu 家康
Masako 和子
Tsunayoshi 綱吉
Tokugawa jikki 徳川実記
Tokugawa Reimeikai 徳川黎明会
torii 鳥居
Tosa (artist family) 土佐
Hiromichi 広通
Hirozumi 広澄
Mitsumochi 光茂
Mitsumoto 光元
Mitsunobu 光信
Mitsunori 光則
Mitsuoki 光起
Mitsushige 光重
Mitsuyoshi 光吉
Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現
Toyokuni Daimyōjin 豊国大明神
Toyokuni Jinja 豊国神社
Toyotomi (warrior family) 豊臣
Hidetsugu 秀次
Hideyoshi 秀吉
Hideyori 秀頼
tsumagure daisu 爪紅台子
Tsunegoten 常御殿

U
Udda (or Uda) Kagenori 打它景軌
udaijin 右大臣
Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信
Umenomiya 梅宮
Unryūin 雲龍院

W
wabi 詫
waka 和歌
wakan renku 和漢聯句

X
Xiao jing 考経
Xuanzong 玄宗

Y
yamaboko 山鉾
Yamashina 山科
Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言継
yamato-e 大和絵
Yang Guifei 楊貴妃
Yata karasu 八咫烏
Yododono 淀殿
Yōgen'in 養源院
Yome mukae no koto 嫁迎えの事
Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好
Yotsutsuji Yotsuko 四辻与津子

Z
Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現
zu 図

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